

THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LXIII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

J. R. REA

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v. 63

PREFACE

This volume is in principle documentary, although the interesting hexameter verses which allude to Diocletian and his first prefect of Egypt, Aurelius Diogenes, have a literary aspect (4352). This manuscript of c.285 is the earliest in date, the rest ranging over the fourth to sixth centuries. The interest is very varied. Some of the items worth mentioning here are: 4365, a short letter about the exchange on loan of Christian books, dating probably from early in the fourth century, 4381, an almost complete bilingual report of proceedings of AD 375, seemingly the first to relate to the court of a *comes et dux Aegypti*, 4386, a rather fragmentary receipt for a bullion payment made for the benefit of the aqueduct of Constantinople in AD 393, 4389, an order to pay of AD 439 delivered by a Strategius who is very likely to be the earliest prominent member of the Apion family that we know of, 4390, of AD 469, which introduces us to a lady called Flavia Isis who was the daughter and heiress of a Flavius Strategius likely to be identical with the same dignitary.

There are two long loan contracts of the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries which seem to have nothing to do with Oxyrhynchus, but are centred on a man called Flavius Julianus, a *notarius* and *tribunus* who lived in Alexandria. In the course of the first, 4394, he pays off a large loan in part by surrendering two gardens located in the Taposiris Strip, the area west of Alexandria between the sea and lake Mariut; in the second, 4395, he borrows a comparatively small sum of money, ten *solidi*, and by way of interest uniquely allows his creditor to enjoy two bread doles in the city. 4397, a settlement of claims in AD 545 between Flavius Apion II and the little-known monastery of Abbas Hierax, situated in the Western desert of Oxyrhynchus, tells a very interesting story of the traffic between Oxyrhynchus and Constantinople, which was the ordinary residence of the heads of the Apion family, it seems, and perhaps also of a profligate Oxyrhynchite landowner who succeeded in mortgaging some of his lands twice, and which was routinely visited by stewards and other representatives of the monastery. The last item, 4400, consists of fragments of a leaf of a sixth century codex with a text modelled very closely on a section of Justinian's Edict XIII, the one which deals with the reform of the administration of Egypt. Some of the tantalizing variants suggest that what we have here is not the edict itself, but one of the subsidiary documents that it generated.

The editions are by Rea, who also compiled the indexes. He warmly thanks Peter Parsons and Revel Coles for friendly help of many kinds at many points, few of them precisely acknowledged in the text, and is grateful also to Nikolaos Gonis and Dirk Obbink, who read the first proofs and suggested many changes for the better.

We continue to be very lucky in our printers, The Charlesworth Group, who always make light of what seem to us intractable difficulties and earn our admiration and gratitude once again with each volume.

June, 1996

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
General Editors

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262-9. It may be summarized as follows:

αβγ	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[αβγ]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
()	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. (ἀρτάβη) represents the symbol ἄρ, κτη(ατηγός) represents the abbreviation κτηγ
[[αβγ]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
˘αβγ˘	The letters are added above the line
<αβγ>	The letters are added by the editor
{αβγ}	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Heavy arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 4th edition (*BASP* Suppl. No. 7, 1992). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

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DOCUMENTS OF THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

4352. HEXAMETER VERSES

75/4(a)

fr. 5: 12 × 23 cm

c. 285

These verses earn a place in a documentary volume by their references to the accession of Diocletian (fr. 5 ii 18–20) and to his first prefect of Egypt, Diogenes (fr. 5 ii 26–8), and by their apostrophe of a ‘procurator of the Seven Nomes’, who had previously held high office in the Thebaid (fr. 5 ii 32–5). Diocletian’s accession, set by him at 20 November 284, was known in Egypt certainly by 7 March 285, possibly by 10 February, see XLII **3055–6** introd. The prefect, M. Aurelius Diogenes, is best dated by XII **1456**, containing an imperial oath formula by Diocletian alone and therefore earlier than the beginning of his joint reign with Maximian, which appears first in the papyri either on 31 March 286 (BGU IV 1090.34), cf. K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 98–9, or, if that is rejected as having possibly been written at a later date, on 24 May 286 (BGU III 922), cf. T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire* 4, n. 6. Diogenes’s first known successor, Bellicius Peregrinus, was in office in 286/7, see L **3571**.

In fragment 5, along with some remains from the ends of lines to the left, we have the whole height of a second column preserved, and the damage to the ends of these lines is not bad enough to prevent us gaining a fairly good idea of the contents. Lines 1–17 relate to Antinous, with allusions to Narcissus, Hyacinthus, and Adonis; they mention the red lotus flower named after him, his famous lion hunt with Hadrian, his death by drowning in the Nile, his transformation into a star in the constellation of Aquila, and the foundation of the city of Antinoopolis. Below line 17 is a paragraphus marking the end of a section and the subjects of lines 18–39 are completely different: Capitoline Zeus took pity on the human race and bestowed the crown on Diocletian, whose accession gave relief from great troubles. Diogenes, in whom we recognize the prefect of Egypt, see above, announced and administered the new regime, a new golden age for the whole land. The poet then addresses, but not by name, a procurator of the Heptanomia, who had previously administered justice in the Thebaid, and compliments him on his mildness and justice. Finally he calls upon an unnamed god, evidently Zeus again, to crown him with ‘your Olympian olive’. This would make a very satisfactory close to a poem and although there is no coronis or other sign of finality I am inclined to accept that this was an ending. Traces in the left lower margin show that the preceding column, fr. 5 col. i, was deeper by probably four lines. However, lines 18–39 hardly make a satisfactory poem alone; more probably they are a tailpiece to the lines about Antinous above them, all written for a special occasion.

It is perhaps rash to suggest a hypothesis at this stage, but by way of a target at which to aim criticism and discussion, I offer the theory that these verses were composed

to be recited in a poetic competition at Capitoline games in Egypt, quite probably one at which the 'procurator of the Seven Nomes' was expected to be present, see fr. 5 ii 32-3 n. There were Capitoline games at both Antinoopolis and Oxyrhynchus in the second half of the third century, see P. Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri* 37-9, 144-50. The verses on Antinous at first sight favour Antinoopolis, but the quadrennial games there began in AD 267/8, and there are documents referring to the second celebration in 271/2 (Frisch op. cit. No. 9 = P. Coll. Youtie II 69 = XLVII 3367) and the third in 275/6 (Frisch op. cit. No. 10 = XLIII 3116), so that the date of these verses falls between the fifth and sixth occasions in 283/4 (before the accession of Diocletian) and 287/8 (after the end of the prefecture of Diogenes), whereas the Oxyrhynchite Capitolia began in summer or autumn 273 (Frisch op. cit. No. 1 = BGU IV 1074.17, 22, No. 8 = P. Oslo III 85), so that their fourth celebration would have fallen in summer or autumn 285, just at the right period to suit the evidence for the prefect and the sole reign, and of course the provenance of the manuscript. Note now also 4357 of October 317, which refers to preliminary expenditure made in 316 relating to the celebration of the games of 317, and LX 4079-4080, where a deputy to an agonothetes of Capitoline games is appointed in May 328 for the games of 329.

If the title *Καπιτώλιος* (fr. 5 ii 18) is not enough to prove that the victory crown was to be awarded at Capitoline games, we could consider the possibilities of the annual games in honour of Antinous at Antinoopolis, the *Μεγάλα Αντινώχεια*, on which see Hugo Meyer, *Antinoos* 254-5, P. Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri* 87-8 (citing especially L. Robert, *REG* 65 (1952) 191-3), or the annual ephobic games established at Oxyrhynchus in 202 on an Antinoite model (IV 705, cf. Robert *ibid.* 193).

Other references in the papyri to poetic competition are P. Oslo III 189 (*ἀγῶν ποιητῶν*), SB IV 7336 (payments to dramatic composers, heralds and trumpeters), and above all XXII 2338, as revised by R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 18 (1975) 199-204, listing Oxyrhynchite boys who seemingly acquired Naucratic citizenship by competing, not winning, in an annual event over nearly thirty years; there is one *ποιητής*, occasionally two, each year, except for two gaps, one in 269-274, probably caused by the Palmyrene threat to Egypt, and another in 280/1, for no known reason. See too P. M. Fraser, *JEA* 45 (1959) 79-80, on a wooden tablet recording a dedication by a poet of epic and lyric verse who won a victory in an Egyptian triennial competition, cf. E. L. Bowie, *ANRW* II 33.1 p. 230. Poetry was the Egyptian preference in literary studies, as the survivals show: Dionysius Periegetes (cf. E. L. Bowie, in *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (BICS Suppl. 5) 204), Triphiodorus, Colluthus, Nonnus, above all Claudian, while rhetoric was comparatively neglected in Egypt, see G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* 20-21.

Verses on Antinous are not very rare, see VIII 1085 (=E. Heitsch, *Die gr. Dichterfragmente d. röm. Kaiserzeit* No. 15.2), P. Lit. Lond. 36 (=Heitsch No. 15.1), L 3537 verso (pp. 65-6), all hexameters, the anapaestic hymn treated at length by W. D. Lebek,

ZPE 12 (1973) 101-137, with IG XIV 978a, cited by him (p. 109), and perhaps the elegiacs published as LIV 3723, where the cases of Hyacinthus, Hylas, and an 'Indian' boy may be viewed as being connected, like those of Narcissus, Hyacinthus and Adonis here, with the fate of Antinous, whose death by drowning in the Nile may be the subject of the fragmentary lines,]c ζβέεεε (l. cβ-) δ' ἐὸν πῦρ ... κύμα]εῖ(?) ἀφροτόκοις, see 3723 1-2 n.; for arguments against this view see A. M. Morelli, *Riv. Fil.* 122.4 (1994) 392, n. 2. P. Berol. inv. P. 17044 (W. Müller, *Forschungen und Berichte* 10 (1968) 121 No. 6, Taf. 22) could possibly be a scrap of a hexameter poem mentioning Antinous, but there must remain some doubt about the reading and the restoration of Ἄν[τινόου κ'] in line 2, especially since the apostrophe strongly suggests that we should recognize οὐκ, see E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*² 11 (=113) and n. 51. The remains represented by γο are not easy to read from the plate. From the Suda, s.vv. *Μεσομήδης*, *Νουμήνιος*, we know of another poem in honour of Antinous, an *ἔπαινος* by Mesomedes, and of a *παραμυθητικός* by the rhetor Numenius, presumably in prose, cf. H. Meyer, *Antinoos* 187. Note too the prose essay in P. Mil. Vogliano I 20 ii 25-iii 25, where the flower of Antinous is said to excel all the trees and flowers associated with a company of mythical persons: Narcissus, Hyacinthus, Crocus, Hylas, Cypris, Daphne.

One lesson we should learn from the accumulation of texts is not to label 1085, P. Lit. Lond. 36, or any other set of hexameters on this subject, as 'Pancrates', unless we can show that they contain the four verses cited by Athenaeus XV 677F as coming from the work for which this poet was rewarded by Hadrian, cf. E. L. Bowie, in D. A. Russell (ed.), *Antonine Literature* 81-3. It is clear that the theme was popular, especially in Egypt.

The text is written along the fibres of the recto. Only two sheet joins have been found, one barely surviving on the right edge of fr. 5 (ii 12, 32-6), the other near the ends of fr. 2 col. i. The back is blank.

The fragments have been arranged and numbered on the hypothesis that fr. 5 ii 39 is the last line of the poem and on the most economical interpretation of the limiting physical facts. Fragments 1, 3 and 5 have remains of the top margin. A change of hand in fr. 3.3-5 makes it certain that fr. 1 and 3 do not belong to the same column and that fr. 3 does not belong to the same column as fr. 5 i. It seems unlikely that fr. 1, which is very much abraded, can have been part of the same column as fr. 5 i, which means that on the most economical hypothesis parts of at least four columns are present, say 160 lines. The fibre structure of the pieces suggests, fairly convincingly but not certainly, that fr. 4 should be ranged below fr. 3, with fr. 4 perhaps even touching fr. 3. The greater abrasion suffered by fr. 1 suggests that it was furthest to the left, that is, that it was nearer the outside of the manuscript when it was rolled up. It is probably from the first surviving column. The placing of the join in fr. 2 means that fr. 2 col. i cannot be from the same column as fr. 3 and 4. On the economical hypothesis, therefore, fr. 2 col. i would be from the lower part of the same column as fr. 1, which would

be the first surviving column, and fr. 2 col. ii would give the beginnings of six lines from the lower part of the same column as the twenty-five lines of the combined fr. 3 and 4, which would be from the second surviving column.

This economical hypothesis is not necessarily the right one. The remains of fr. 5 col. i mention a lion (5 i 8] .θα λέοντος) and so seem to refer to the famous lion hunt, briefly alluded to in 5 ii 2, 9–10. Fr. 2 mentions Heracles and Nemea (2 i 10–11), probably with reference to the same episode. Therefore there might be some reason to think that fr. 2 col. i is the column preceding fr. 5 col. i, and fr. 2 col. ii actually part of fr. 5 i. This hypothesis would push fr. 1 and fr. 3 and 4 further back, so that fr. 1 would be part of the first surviving column, fr. 3 and 4 part of the second, fr. 2 col. i would be part of the third, fr. 2 col. ii and fr. 5 col. i part of the fourth, and fr. 5 col. ii part of the fifth, making a composition of a minimum of about two hundred lines.

This longer version might offer a more satisfactory possibility of reconstructing the poem: fr. 1 seems to mention the mythical mother of Antinous, see fr. 1.4 n., which might be a suitable topic for an early stage of the story. Fr. 3 begins with mist (or night? ΠJP) and air and goes on to heralds, prizes, a trumpet and another herald, with clashing (κ]αναχής?) and shouting (ἀδής): this might be the dawn beginning of the famous Libyan lion hunt briefly alluded to in fr. 5 ii 2, 9–10; the prizes are incongruous perhaps, but one might imagine that prizes could be offered for degrees of prowess in the hunt. Fr. 4 has Selene, who comes back in fr. 5 ii 11, and perhaps already in fr. 5 ii 1, see n. Fr. 2 col. i has Nemea and Heracles, fr. 5 col. i the lion again, fr. 5 col. ii the death and catasterism of Antinous and the founding of Antinoopolis.

The narrow date range of the subject matter of the peroration gives the item an interest as a palaeographical specimen, since there are no dated literary manuscripts from Egypt and since those which have any associations which allow them to be dated objectively are comparatively few. A very sensible convention requires every new edition of a literary text from ancient Egypt to contain some estimate of its date, whatever criteria are available. Once assigned, however, the dates are not usually much questioned and it is often forgotten how uncertain they are.

In this case there is nothing in what survives of the verses themselves to make it likely that they would have been copied out at a much later date, nor is there any feature which would impose a later dating. Consequently, although these are subjective judgements and clinching arguments are not available, I take it that this item should join the very restricted group of literary manuscripts from Egypt for which there is some indication of dating independent of palaeography.

The hand is informal, small, generally upright, though with a tendency to lapse into a slope, fluent and full of ligatures, but written slowly enough to be perfectly legible except where it is damaged. A very striking parallel is to be found in the remains of a codex partly preserved in London and in Vienna, which has recently been newly edited as a panegyric of the emperor Julian, see A. Guida, *Un Anonimo Panegirico per l'Imperatore*

Giuliano (Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere 'La Colombaria', Studi CVII, 1990). Perhaps the parallelism with 4352 indicates that more attention should be paid to the remarks of E. Stein in MPER 3 (1939) 94, according to whom the list of palatine officers referred to in literary terminology relates to the third century and not to the fourth. The reference to Byzantium then becomes a difficulty to be explained away, but perhaps we should have been surprised that it was not to Constantinople in any case.

The spelling is in general good, though there are corrections of the phonetic confusion of delta and tau, see fr. 5 ii 31 n., and once of an iotacism, see fr. 5 ii 37. Iota adscript is usually written, but occasionally omitted, see fr. 4.5 n. No *scriptio plena* has been identified: elision is generally marked, but the apostrophe is omitted in fr. 5 ii 8 (μετ' Αντίνοον). Diaeresis is used often correctly and once to mark an initial iota (fr. 5 ii 6). There are no accents. One rough breathing is used, interestingly, for an internal aspiration, see fr. 5 ii 35 and n. A supralinear wedge-shaped mark is used for some uncertain purpose in fr. 5 ii 33, see n.

My debt of gratitude to Peter Parsons is here even greater than usual.

Fr. 1 5.5 × 9 cm

Top

	] . αιορ . [.] . ι . . . [. . .] . . [
	] ων παραγ . ιτο . . . [
	] . ο [
	] . δον και Μαντιωσή . [.] [
5	] . ωτις [. .] . . . [
	] . ccινα [.] [
	] . ηνμ . . [.] . [
	] . ανωξιφος [
] [
10] . . [. .] . . [
] . . [
] . . . [
] . [.] . [.
] . [
15] . . [. .] . [
] . . [. .] . [
	] . κκ [

Fr. 2 5 × 8.5 cm

] . αῦβα . . [.] . [.]
] . ε . α . ι
] (stripped)
] . δε φαρέτρα[
 5] . οντο δὲ νευρ .
] γερο . [.] .
] νοιο
] . [.] ἰνην
] αν ἀκούων ii
 10] . ν δὲ Νεμείην
] Ἡρακλῆος . [.
] . λα . . [.] . . μορφῆ ν[
] (vac.?) . [.
] να . [.] . ς η[
 15] . [.] [.
] . . ι . [.
 . . [.

Fr. 3 4.5 × 9 cm

Top

] διος ὀμίχλην
] μος ἀήρ
 (m. 2)] (v) χθόνα πάσαν α . . . [.
] . ν κή [ρ] υκτες ἀέθλω[
 5] η . . τ . . ηναμα . . σαν[
 (m. 1)]
] . σατο κάλπιγξ
] . κήρυξ
] . γαχῆς τε καὶ αὐδῆς
 10 ὀ] ππότε δ' αὐτῶι
] ν ὀππότε δ' αὐτὸς
] λ' ἀπο . ινης

] . ερες ἤδη
] ποντ[.] ς
 15] . . [.
] . . [.

 10 δ' 11 δ'; ρς corr. from ωι 12 λ'

Fr. 4 2 × 3.5 cm

] π . [.
] . (v.)
] . . [.] δ . οικ
] . ιδ' ἐοῦσα
 5 C] ελήνη
] νελαυνων
] . σομενοιϔ[
] . σιμορφ . . [.
] [.

 4 δ'

Fr. 5

i

] ιαδειης
] . ἐπὶ μούνην
] . ω . [.]
] . [.] αρ ηι
 5] αμογησαι
] υδεκελευ . . ν
] τερος ἵππος
] θα λέοντος
] εραυναν
 10] θέντα
] . ελαων
] υτήρας

] . δεπετρ .
] . ρην
 15] . ρων
] δοντων
] (vac.)
] . αις
] . ληι
 20] (vac.)
] .
] (vac.)
] c
] .
 25] (vac.)
] ην
] (vac.)
] .
] . (opposite ii 30–31)
] (vac. for depth of c. 10 lines)
 30(=40?)] i (c. 1.5 cm below the level of ii 39)
] . οι

ii

εὔρε δὲ τερπομένη ζωάγριον Ἀντινόοιο,
 θήρης μνημοσύνην, νίκης θάλος, [
 αἰδέομαι, Νάρκισσε, τήν κιοειδέα μ[ορφήν,
 δακρυχέω δ' Ὑάκινθον ἀπηνέα δίσκ[ον
 5 σὴν δὲ κατο[ι]κτείρω θηραγρεσίην, α[
 λειμών δ' Ἀντινόοιο καὶ ἡμερο[
 οὐ πηγῆν, οὐ δίσκον ὀλέθριον, οὐ . . . [
 τῶ δὲ μετ' Ἀντίνοον Νύμφαις [τέ]φον ἄνθει π[λοχμούς,
 εἰς [τι] ῥυομένῳ θαλερῆν θηρ[ή]το[ρος] αἰχμή[ν].
 10 ἐς Νείλον δ' ἔσπευσε λέοντεον αἶμα καθήραι,
 ἢ δὲ φ[αε]ιωτέρησιν ἐπ' ἔλπωρήσιν Σελήνη [

κέκλετο μαρμαίρειν θαλαμ[η]πόλον ἄστερ. [
 κύκλωι δὲ στέψασα νέον φάος ἔσχ[ε]ν ἄκ[οίτην].
 δῶρον δ' Ἀδρια[ν]οῖο πόλι[ς], Νείλοι[ο] δὲ νῆ[κος].
 15 ἢ μὲν ἐριστάφυλος γλυκερῶι παρ[ὰ] γείτο[νι] κείται,
 ἢ δὲ λελεγμένον ἄνθος Ἀχαιῖδος ἐστι. [
 ἔστεπται λιμένεσσιν ἀριστεύειν πεδίοι[ο].
 Ζεὺς μόγις οἰκτεῖρας γενεὴν Καπιτώλιος ἀν[δρῶν]
 κοιρανίην πάσης τραφερῆς πάσης τε θαλάσσης [
 20 ὥπασεν ἀντιθέωι Διοκλητιανῶι βασιλῆϊ.
 μνημοσύνην δ' ἀχέων προτέρων βέβη[εν] εἴ τις ἔτ' αἰνοῖς
 μοχθίζει δεσμοῖσιν ἀφεγγέος ἔνδοθι χ[ώ]ρ[ου].
 ἀλλὰ πατήρ μὲν παῖδα, γυνή θ' ἐὼν ἄνδρα λυθῆ[ντα]
 εἰσοράει καὶ γνωτὸς ἀδελφεὸν οἶα μολόντας [
 25 εἰς φάος ἢ ἑλίοιο τὸ δεύτερον ἐξ Αἴδαο.
 ἀσπασίως δ' ἀγαθοῖο φιλοφροσύνην βασιλῆ[ο]ς [
 δέξατο Διογένης ῥυσιπτολις, ἐς δὲ πόληα
 ὀτραλέως προέηκε πόνων πολυγηθέα λήθ[ην].
 γηθοσύνη' ἰ πάσ χῶρος ἰαίνεται ὡς ἐπὶ φωτ[ί]
 30 χρυσεῖης γενεῆς, ἀνδροκτασίης τε λιασθει[ς] [
 κείται ἀραιμωτὶ κολεῶν ἐν[δ]᾽ ἴοσθε σίδηρος. [
 καὶ εὐ δὲ δω[δ]᾽ ἴνην βασιλῆῖδα πάσι γεγηθῶ[ς],
 [Ε]πτά Νομῶν, ἡγγεῖλας, ἐπίτροπε. εἰο δὲ Νείλος [
 35 μελιχίην καὶ πρόσθεν ἐπήνεσεν, ὀππότε κεδ[νῆ]
 εὐδικίηι δῖες Νειλωῖδος ἄστεα Θήβης.
 ἀλλ', ὦ [χ]λαινοφόροιο μάκαρ σκηπτοῦχε χοροῖο,
 λιςσομένῳ μοι ἄρηξον. ἐπ' εἰ καὶ νυκτὶ καὶ ἡοῖ
 ἡμετέροις καμάτοις ἴν' ἐπίσκοπος αὐτὸς ἔη[σθα],
 στέψον Ὀλυμπιάδος με τῆς πε[δ]᾽ ἴαλο[ις] ἢ ἔ[λαίης].

4 δ'	6 δ', ἡμερο[	8 ἀνθεῖ	10 δ'	14 δ'	16 ἀχαιῖδος	20 βασιλῆϊ?
21 δ'	22 μοχθίζει: ι corr. (from ει?)		23 θ corr. from δ, υ corr. (from ι?)		25 αἶδαο	
26 δ'	32 βασιλῆῖδα	33 ἐπίτροπε >?	35 δῖες, νειλωῖδος: ι corr.		36 ἀλλ'	

Fr. 5 ii 1–39

'She rejoiced to find the ransom for the life of Antinous, memorial of his hunt, palm of his victory, ... I revere, Narcissus, your shadowy reflection (?); I shed a tear for Hyacinthus, who (grasped?) the cruel discus; I pity your hunting of the wild beast, (Adonis?). Yet the meadow of Antinous and his lovely (new flower?) (envy, hold in awe?) not pool, not fatal discus, not (boar?). The nymphs (began to crown their tresses?) with the flower named after Antinous, which to this day preserves(?) the mighty spear of the hunter. To (into)

PJP) the Nile he hurried for purification of the blood of the lion, but the Moon upon more brilliant hopes bade him shine as a star(-like?) bridegroom and garlanding the new light with a circle she (took him for her husband?). A city was the gift of Hadrian, an island that of the Nile: the one lies rich in vines beside its sweet neighbour, the other (welcoming?) the chosen flower of Achaea, has been crowned for its harbours as champion of the plain.'

'Capitoline Zeus took pity at last on the human race and gave the lordship of all the earth and all the sea to godlike king Diocletian. He extinguished the memory of former griefs for any still suffering in grim bonds in a lightless place. Now a father sees his child, a wife her husband, a brother his brother released, as if coming into the light of the sun a second time from Hades. Gladly Diogenes, saviour of cities, received the favour of the good king and swiftly dispatched to the cities the joyful forgetfulness of griefs. The whole land takes delight in its joy as at the light of a golden age, and the iron, drawn back from the slaughter of men, lies bloodlessly in the scabbard. You too have rejoiced to announce the royal gift to all, governor of the Seven Nomes, and the Nile has praised your mildness earlier still, when you governed the towns of Nilotic Thebes with care and righteousness.'

'Now, blessed sceptre-bearer of the chorus clad in cloaks, I pray to you to help me. Since at night and at the dawn you yourself were the watcher over our labours, garland me with the leaves of your Olympian olive.'

Fr. 1

2 παραγ. ιτρο. . . [. The spacing and traces seem not to suit *παρὰ γεῖτρο[ν]*; . . [, cf. 5 ii 15; *παραγεῖτρον* . . [could suit, but the last two traces become intractable.

4] δον και Μαντινόη [. [. *Μαντινόη*, in whatever case, looks like a novelty, but it is known in three examples as the name of Egyptian women: Stud. Pal. V 127 (p. 73)=XX 68 fr. 2 recto, col. iii 2 (p. 58), where the document also mentions a Philantinos and an exegetes of Antinoopolis (p. 56 col. xviii 4, 11), P. Strasb. V 323.15, where again there is a Philantinos (13), and U. Wilcken, *Gr. Ost.* II 1188.3 (Thebes; photo in K. Sudhoff, *Ärztliches aus gr. Papyrusurkunden*, Taf. III, Nr. 2). Since *Αντινόη* appears nowhere else in the papyri as the name either of a person or of a place (cf. U. Wilcken, *Archiv* 5 (1909-13) 244), perhaps P. Oslo III 129.16] *Αντινόην* εκ[might be another documentary examples, i.e. restore *Μαντινόην*.

More immediately relevant is the occurrence in the hexameter verses on Antinous in L 3537 verso 5, where ed. pr. has *μάντιν* *χής*. With the new reading, which has been checked against the original, the passage begins:

Αντινοε, σο . δ[⁻ ^υυ - ^υυ]ν ὕμνον ἀείω
Μαντινόης [^υυ - ^υ] και ἀγλαοῦ Ἑρμείαο.
οὐ γὰρ πώποτ[^ε ἐγὼ καλῆς ἐπι]λήσομ' αἰοδῆς κτλ.

Since Antinous is called *Ἀργεῖφοντιάδαο*, i.e. son of Hermes, in 1085 ii 9, being elsewhere identified with Hermes, see 3537 verso 1-3 n., it looks as if this is a mythical parentage making him the son of a hitherto unknown Mantinoe and Hermes.

The connection with Hermes, although it demonstrably does have the chthonic overtones mentioned by Lebek, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 111, has a more prosaic and immediate relevance, because it was within the territory of Hermopolis, *Ἑρμοῦ πόλις*, that Antinous was drowned, and it was out of the Hermopolite nome that Antinoopolis and its nomarchy were carved. Lebek, *ibid.* 111 n.17, does call attention to the double personal name Antinous alias Hermes in VI 909 5-6. At first sight the compound *Ἑρμαντινόος* is more striking still, but note also *Ἀμμωναντινόος*, *Βησαντινόος*, *Διονυσαντινόος*, *Ἡρακλαντινόος*, and *Ἰσχυραντινόος*, see F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* and/or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, s.vv. Cf. *Παναγαντινόος*, a ship's figurehead, LIX 3980 9 and n.

There is a possibility that the hymn from Curium mentions the mother of Antinous and calls her *χρυσόπτερυγος*, but this is not certain, see Lebek, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 127-130, especially since the first letter of the word interpreted as *γόνε* is shown by the photograph to be a certain rho, see T. B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* p. 196. It may be relevant that Hermes himself is called *χρυσόπτερος Ἑρμῆς* in Nonnus, *Dion.* 19.236.

If this view of Mantinoe is not acceptable we could note that the form *Αντινοήος* is used by Dioscorus of Aphroditon, P. Cair. Masp. I 67120 verso B 13, 14, presumably as the genitive of *Αντινοεύς*, although *πτολίεθρον* . . . *Ἄ.* and *πτόλιον* . . . *εὐκτιον Ἄ.* look as if they require a mention of Antinous himself rather than of an Antinoite. An *Αντινόη* (RE XIV 1333, No. 11) is the legendary foundress of Mantinea, where a cult of

Antinous and games in his honour were established (*ibid.* No. 12, cf. H. Meyer, *Antinoos* 197-8, 199-200). The intrusion of *μ'* at this point seems unwelcome, but cf. 5 ii 37, 39. There is no evidence for *Μαντινόη* as a form of the name of Mantinea or its foundress, but occasionally the founder is identified as a man called Mantinous, see RE XIV 1344, s.v. *Μαντινεύς*, 1.

Fr. 2

Cf. introd. p. 4 for possible links with fr. 5. A sacrifice to Heracles is the subject of one of the tondos depicting Hadrian's hunting exploits, see I. Maull, *JÖAI* 42 (1955) 55 fig. g, H. Meyer, *Antinoos* Taf. 134.2, M. Oppermann, *Nikephoros* 4 (1991) 331 Abb. 25.

12 Οτ μορφῆ, cf. fr. 4.5 n.

Fr. 3

1-2 Mist (or night? PJP) and air (cf. *νήδυμος ἀήρ*, Nonnus, *D.* 48.580. PJP.) might perhaps suit a description of the weather on the morning of the lion hunt, cf. fr. 5 ii 10 n., introd. p. 4. However, PJP rightly points out that this passage might be better suited to a description of the Capitoline festival itself, or to a simile comparing the hunters to runners at the starting-line.

3-5 These three line-ends are written in a cursive style and on a larger scale than the rest. It is tempting to speculate that this is the poet's own hand, making an addition which he planned and for which he instructed a space to be left in the clerk's fair copy, but although they look very different, there is no guarantee that the lines were written by a different person. There is a blank patch in line 3 before *χθόνα*, which might suggest that only the end was added there, but it seems clear that the whole passage was added in a space deliberately left vacant, which would have been adequate for four lines in the main hand.

4 Heralds, cf. 7-8, and prize(s?) perhaps suggest that the hunt was regarded as a contest? But see above 1-2 n.

9 Perhaps *κ]αναχῆς* is more suitable in sense than *στ]οραχῆς*, the clash of weaponry and harness and the sound of voices referring to the hunting party. The trace is very tiny.

Fr. 4

It looks possible that a narrow piece projecting from the top of this scrap joins with a similar projection downwards from fr. 3 in such a way that lines 1-2 here continue fr. 3.15-16 after a gap wide enough for only one letter or two. There is nothing further to read and not much physical evidence to be considered.

4] ιδ' εῶσα. The first letter is probably kappa or chi; the apostrophe is likely, but could be just a blot. *ἄγ]χι δ' εῶσα?*

5 C]ελήνη, or -νη. This is a link with fr. 5, cf. fr. 5 ii 2, 11 nn., introd. p. 4. Nominative is likely, but iota adscript is occasionally omitted, e.g. fr. 5 ii 8 τῶ, 24 εἰσοράα.

Fr. 5 i

1]ικαδειης. Perhaps *ἀδειῆς*, 'fearless'; not *λίς*, which has a long iota.

5 πολλα]ῖ μογήσαι? Cf. Theogn. 71. *πολλά μογῆς*- is very frequent in hexameters. Cf. *γυῖα μογῆσαι*, Ar. Rhod. 4.1585. Also possible is *μογήσαι* (opt.), cf. Ar. Rhod. 2.471 (*πλείεστα*), Theocr. 26.28.

6]υδεκελευ. ν. The ligature to nu rather suggests omega; the letter before that is rounded, but taller than the usual sigma. Probably *κελεύθων* is better than *κελεύων*.

7]τερος ἵππος. The lion hunt, see fr. 5 ii 10 n., was an equestrian event, see 1085 ii 1-2 ἵππου] δ' Ἄδρ[ή]στοιο θωότερον, δε ποτ' ἀνακτα / ῥηίδί]ως φεύγοντα κατὰ κλόνον ἐξεάωσε κτλ., cf. Sel. Pap. III p. 519 n. a. Exactly the same sense is not very likely here. Hadrian and Antinous appear with a horse in P. Lit. Lond. 36 (δε δ' ἵππον θαρς[, 14), but the lion does not, however likely it seems that the subject is the same.

8] θα λέοντος. Cf. fr. 5 ii 10 n. PJP points out that a possibility, remoter in this context, is *θαλέοντος* or *ε]ῖθαλέοντος*; for the latter he compares Nicander, fr. 74.16, Quintus Smyrnaeus 4.423, but upsilon should have left traces higher than the low specks that remain.

9]ερανναν. This is presumably connected with *ερανώω* rather than *κεραυνός*, but *ερευν-* would be expected in verse or even good prose.

11] ελαων.] ε λαών? PJP. The slight and confused traces do not favour *νε]φελάων*.

12 β]υτήρα? Cf. 1085 ii 4 Ἀ]ντινόος λαιῖ μὲν ἔχων ῥυτήρα χαλιών. The spondaic ending occurs in these verses for certain only in *Ἡρακλῆος*, fr. 4 i 11. The Oppian of the *Halientica* frequently ends a spondaic line

with ἀγρευτήρα or another case and there are similar endings in the *Cyngetica*; this too might be appropriate here. On the two Oppians see A. W. Mair, *Oppian* (ed. Loeb) xiii–xxiii; *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* 1 862–3, cf. 653–4.

13 πετρῶν seems to suit best.

16 At this place in the line δ]δόντων, of the lion's or dogs' teeth, seems likely.

29, 30 Between these traces there is a depth of 4.5 cm without remains of ink. About ten lines have been entirely lost. This format of about forty lines to the column would have left a margin of c. 2 cm at the foot of col. i, rather than c. 4 cm as at the foot of ii.

Fr. 5 ii

1 εἶρε δὲ τερπομένη. The subject is likely to be the Moon, *Κελήνη*, cf. below 11, fr. 4.5 C]ελήνη or -νη.

ζωάγριον. This refers to the flower named after Antinous, see 8–9 n. The imagery is dubious. Hadrian killed a lion in the Libyan desert during his trip in Egypt in AD 130. According to VIII 1085 Antinous was one of the other hunters. The flower was said to have sprung up first where the lion's blood was shed. But it is hard to see why the flower should be viewed as a ransom for the life of Antinous. (PJP points out that in the only other passage where ζωάγριον occurs in the singular as a noun, an obscure oracle cited in Plut. *Aratus* 53.3, ζωάγριον Ἀράτου seems to mean simply a memorial or monument to Aratus which the Sicyonians wanted to establish in their city, unless it somehow refers to their lives saved by him. He observes that ζωάγριον means also 'offering made in gratitude for having one's life saved', see AP VI 220.15, but it is hard to fit that into this context, even if it is true that Hadrian saved the life of Antinous in the lion hunt, as has been imagined, presumably from the account in VIII 1085, but is not actually attested.) Selene might perhaps have been thought to have ransomed Antinous from mortal life, in which case the translation should run rather, 'In her joy she invented a ransom for Antinous', i.e. created the new flower.

2 θήρης. This, like νίκης, refers to the lion hunt, see 10 n.

νίκης θάλος. The victory over the lion is at least in part attributed to Antinous, although Athenaeus says that Hadrian killed it (ὄν ... καταβελήκει δ' Ἀδριανός XV 677 f.), and HA *Hadrian* XXVI, 3 that he often killed lions with his own hand (*frequenter ... sua manu*).

For θάλος in this sense, 'flowering garland, crown', equivalent to θαλλός, see M. J. H. Van den Weiden, *The Dithyrambs of Pindar* 48, cf. P. Köln VI 245.7 (=M. G. Parca, *Ptocheia* (ASP 31) 15, 31), where θάλος has above it a variant, gloss or correction, στέφος, making the meaning clear.

[. The damaged letter may have been corrected; epsilon is a possibility but the ink is confused. The third element of a triad is lost, either evoking the flower like the other two, or specifying it, e.g. ε]βχροον ἄνθος.

3 κιοειδέα μ[ορφήν. Cf. Nonnus, *Dion.* 48.586 κιοειδέα φάσματα μορφῆς (of Narcissus), 29.327, 43.242, both κιοειδέϊ μορφή (first of a dream, second of Proteus), 40.441 κιοειδέες ... Ἰνδαλμα (of a god in mortal shape). Pausanias IX 31.7 uses κια of Narcissus' reflection: ἑώρα κιαὶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, cf. LSJ s.v. 2.

4 LSJ attributes the coinage of δακρυχέω as a transitive verb to Nonnus.

ἀπηρέα seems to enforce δίσκ[ον and imply a participle agreeing with Ἰάκωνθον and governing δίσκ[ον, but a truly appropriate participle is hard to find; he was not 'grasping' the discus which killed him, but might be imagined as taking part in a contest along with Apollo, so ἐλόντα is the stopgap for the translation. To take ἀπηρέα as neuter plural used as an adverb seems too desperate, and not immediately helpful.

5 θηραγρεσίην. Add. lexx. The reading is clear enough and the word is regularly formed. The mention of hunting seems to suit only Adonis, who appears also in the anapaestic hymn to Antinous from Curium, see *ZPE* 12 (1973) 102, 109–110, 113, cf. H. Meyer, *Antinoos* 163–4. The wild beast is then the boar which killed Adonis.

α[. I had hoped to read something like φ[ιλ' Ἄδωνι, cf. Anth. Graec. 5.53.1 (ὦ φίλ' Ἄδωνι is more frequent), but the damaged letter is almost certainly alpha. I hesitate to credit the poet with a long alpha in Ἄδωνι. Presumably Adonis was addressed in some oblique way, such as ἄ[να Βύβλου, 'lord of Byblos'.

6 λεμιὸν δ' Ἀντινόοιο. This seems to refer to the riverside parts of the Antinoite nomarchy where Antinous's flower might grow, and by extension to the whole of the city's territory.

ἰμερο[. What we need seems to be another mention of the Antinous flower: ἰμερο[εν νέον ἄνθος? A neuter makes it easier to envisage the restoration of a singular verb in 7, see next note.

7 πηγῆν. This is the pool where Narcissus saw and fell in love with his reflection, mentioned by Pausanias IX 31.7 (*Ναρκίσσου πηγῆ*) as being at Thespieae in Boeotia; cf. G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* 811, an inscription

in verse recording a dedication to Eros by Hadrian in commemoration of a successful boar hunt, which mentions a garden of Narcissus there.

οὐ . . . [Although flowers form the main link between the characters, the parallel cause of death in the case of Adonis, as PJP pointed out to me, was the boar (βόν, κάπρον?). The traces after οὐ, which is convincing, are too scanty to justify any certain reading. The first is a horizontal, perhaps a little humped: the top levels of pi or tau or sigma would be tolerable, not kappa; the other two are undistinctive flecks from the level of the feet of the letters. If we do not mind a flat spondaic line, we could have οὐ ζῆν [ζηλοῖ or ταρβεῖ or ἀρχεῖ, 'envy (or 'hold in awe', or 'boast of') not pool, not fatal discus, not boar', i.e. the attributes of Antinous are not inferior to any of the rival cases that have been mentioned. κάπρον would have to be postponed to the end of the line, and a verb for the intervening two short syllables or one long one has not come to mind.

8–9 The flower is described by Athenaeus as a pink lotus, distinct from the usual blue one, and he tells us that a certain Pancrates wrote a poem giving it a fabulous origin in the places where the blood of the lion killed by Hadrian fell. Athenaeus quotes four lines from the poem and says that Hadrian rewarded Pancrates with maintenance in the Alexandrian Museum (XV 677d–f). The flower is referred to in P. Mil. Vogliano I 20 ii 25–iii 25, and presumably in 3537 verso 23]. ἀγακλυτὸν ἄνθος ἀνήκ[εν.

Herodotus II 92 appears to be describing the same flower when he writes of lilies, κρίνεα, called lotus in Egypt, which are like roses. A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Commentary* 1–98 pp. 372–5, identifies this as *Nelumbo nucifera* Gaertn., the Indian or Rose Lotus. On p. 374 part of his description suggests that the comparison with a spear is not impossibly remote: 'Leaves and flowers containing the seed-vessels are raised about a metre from the water on long slender stalks'.

I am grateful to Dr Helen Whitehouse for pointing out to me that this is the same plant which is frequently called the Egyptian bean, κύμαος Αἰγύπτιος, see Strabo 17.1.15 (cf. 15.1.25, Arrian, *Anab.* 6.1.2), Diod. Sic. 1.34.6 (cf. 1.10.1), Theophr., *HP* 4.8.7, Athenaeus III.1–3, Dioscor., 2.106, Pliny, *NH* 18.121–2; cf. R. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* 39–40. It is shown in Roman mosaics from Pompei and Paestina, see H. Eschebach, *Pompei. Erlebte antike Welt* Pl. 182, P. Romanelli, *Paestrina* Tavv. XXIV–XXX. It is illustrated in colour in B. E. Nicholson *et al.*, *The Oxford Book of Food Plants* 32–3 No. 1, and in Marianne North, *A Vision of Eden* opp. 108, from a painting done in Java in 1876, cf. p. 113.

9 ἠυομένω PJP. The first trace is of a long descender: the imagery, 'preserving' a likeness of the spear, has not been paralleled, but it seems acceptable, and better than postulating *φυομένω* as an unheard of middle.

10 Athenaeus XV 677e says that the lion hunt took place in the Western Desert not far from Alexandria. If he is correct, and if VIII 1085 is good evidence for the presence of Antinous, this sets the hunt sometime before the Nile voyage on which Antinous was drowned, and it seems that he could not be imagined as literally washing the lion's blood off, hence the translation 'for purification of the blood', perhaps needlessly scrupulous.

Part of an account of the hunt in hexameters appears in VIII 1085. I argue that the appearance of so many poems on Antinous makes it implausible now to identify that one as Pancrates, see introd. p. 3.

One of the eight tondos commemorating Hadrian's hunting exploits, now on the Arch of Constantine at Rome, may represent Hadrian and Antinous and companions gathered around this lion's corpse, see R. Lambert, *Beloved and God* 50–51, fig. 13, I. Maull, 'Hadrians Jagddenkmal', *JÖAI* 42 (1955) 53–67, 55 fig. f, M. Oppermann, *Nikephoros* 4 (1991) 211–17, esp. 214–16, 331 Abb. 24, H. Meyer, *Antinoos* Taf. 134.1. Compare in general L. Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978) 437–42, commenting on a statue base inscribed for Hadrian as Zeus Cynegeus (*Δία Κυνηγέσιον*).

11 Κελήνη. Selene plays some large part in this episode, see above 5 ii 1 n., and fr. 4.5. There are various reasons why this might be thought appropriate. First, as Diana or Artemis, she is a goddess of the hunt: she appears on another of Hadrian's hunting tondos, Maull loc. cit. fig. e, Meyer, op. cit. Taf. 135.1, Oppermann, loc. cit. 329 Abb. 21, receiving a sacrifice. Second, she is allied to Hecate as a chthonic deity: a funeral college at Lanuvium had Diana and Antinous paired as the objects of their cult (CIL XIV 2112, cf. Meyer, op. cit. 207). Perhaps relevant in this connection are a bust and a small head from a relief showing a female with small horns sprouting from the forehead; these have been interpreted as representing (Aelia) Domitia Paulina, Hadrian's sister, deified as Selene, see G. Grimm, 'Paulina und Antinous. Zur Vergöttlichung der Hadrianschwester in Ägypten', in C. Börker, M. Donderer (edd.), *Das antike Rom und der Osten. Festschrift für Klaus Parlasca*, 33–44, Tafeln 13–23, cf. 13 n. ad fin. Third, as an important celestial body she is suited to play a part in the transformation of Antinous into a star, see 13 n.

Compare also Tatian, *Ad Graecos* §10 πῶς δὲ ὁ τεθνεὺς Ἀντινόος μεράκιον ὤραιον ἐν τῇ κελήνῃ καθιδρύται?

Unhappily this is one of a string of rhetorical questions and so remains unanswered, cf. H. Meyer, *Antinoos* 171–2 and Taf. 74.5–6. It may relate to some confusion with Eudymion, cf. below 13 n.

12 *θαλαμ[η]πρόλον ἀστερ*. [Antinoos had a star named after him, see Cassius Dio LXIX 11.4. *θαλαμηπρόλος* means an attendant on a bridal chamber, usually applied to a woman or a eunuch, rarely to a bridegroom, but this is what it seems to mean here. At the end of the line we perhaps need a word which will make it clear that Antinoos is to be Selene's bridegroom, see 13 n. The small final trace might be interpreted as alpha or omicron. There is no sign of an apostrophe to encourage ἀστέρ' [ἐαυτῆς, although μεταντινοον without an apostrophe is enough to allow the possibility of that or of ἀστέρα [ἐαυτῆς with *scriptio plena*, or perhaps ἀστέρα [Μήνης (PJP) would not be intolerable. Omicron would allow ἀστερόεντα, 'starry bridegroom', or a compound such as ἀστερόφοιτον or ἀστεροφεγγή, 'bridegroom traversing the stars' or 'shining as a star(?)'. This is perhaps a better line of possibilities.

13 *κύκλωι δὲ στέβασα*. It is not clear what is meant by the circle with which the Moon crowned the new star. The name Antinoos refers to a small star cluster below the constellation of Aquila, see RE IIIA col. 2418, citing Ptol., *Synl.* (= *Almagest*) VII 5 (ed. J. L. Heiberg (Teubner) i. 2, p. 74.9 ff.); it might be that the brightest of these was Antinoos and the rest formed his crown or garland.

Dio, LXIX 11.4 says that Hadrian claimed to have seen some identifiable star himself and affirmed that it belonged to Antinoos; he welcomed the stories of those around him that it derived from the soul of Antinoos and had appeared then for the first time (τότε πρώτον ἀναπεφηνέναι). There is some, rather uncertain, possibility that there really was a new phenomenon at that time to give an astronomical basis for the story. I am grateful to Dr Carolin Crawford for passing my question about the astronomy to Dr W. G. Waddington, of the Oxford Astrophysics Department. Here is an extract from his reply:

'Ho's list of Chinese Novae/Comets (*Vistas* vol. 5) has two entries (97, 98) for AD 131 which are usually taken to refer to the same object (a comet) that appeared in AD 132 (under object 97 Ho noted that Biot dates it as 132). The first object is dated to Jan 29. Schove/Fletcher denote these two entries as "Hadrian's comet and star of Antoninus" [p. 287; misprint for Antinoos]. Yeomans's popular account says "guest star in Capricornus with rays more than three degrees pointing south west. It was greyish in color and went out of sight in Aquarius", i.e. comet tracked below Ptolemy's "catasterism". Given Ptolemy's (?) identification of Hadrian's star as being in Aquila, near the galactic equator, a nova cannot be ruled out in spite of the now traditional acceptance of Ho's objects 97 and 98 referring to the same object.'

The full references are P. Y. Ho (Ho Peng Yoke), 'Ancient and Mediaeval Observations of Comets and Novae in Chinese Sources', *Vistas in Astronomy* 5 (1962) 127–225, esp. 152 Nos. 97–8, D. Justin Schove, Alan Fletcher, *Chronology of Eclipses and comets AD 1–1000* 287, D. K. Yeomans, *Comets. A Chronological History* etc. 369.

A nova is a temporary star, which flares up into visibility and then fades away more or less slowly. Ho discusses the Chinese terminology on pp. 136–7: the Chinese usually regard 'guest star' as describing a nova, but he points out that some turn out to be comets, while some comets of the class known as 'sparkling stars' were probably novae. If the 'guest star' seen by a Chinese observer on 29 January 131 was a reasonably conspicuous and persistent nova, it would obviously be a very suitable catasterism for Antinoos, who is thought to have drowned about the end of October 130.

The suggestion that the identification might have been made by Ptolemy himself comes from G. J. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest* (translated and annotated) 357, n. 160. What Ptolemy actually says at that place (VII 5) is ambiguous: *οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀετόν, ἐφ' ὃν ὁ Ἀντίνοος*, translated by Toomer as, 'The stars around Aquila, to which the name "Antinoos" is given'. Ptolemy, Claudius Ptolemaeus, worked in Alexandria. His own observations in the *Almagest* date from AD 127 to 141, but the work itself was probably not published before 150 (Toomer op. cit. p. 1), by which date the point was of little interest and perhaps the nova, if there was one, was invisible or inconspicuous.

ἔσχ[ε]ν ἀκ[οίτην]. The remains suit this restoration very well: ες is virtually certain, χ is better than anything else and only μ is a very doubtful alternative; after the gap the remains look very like the upper right part of nu, with the usual rather high join of the diagonal to the second upright. The two traces after that, a rounded top suitable for the loop of alpha and an upright following closely, fit ἀκ[οίτην], which, with ἀκοίτην, is one of the few appropriate words found to follow ἔσχεν in hexameter verse, Hesiod, *Th.* 608 *κεδνήν δ' ἔσχεν ἀκοίτην*; Nonnus, *Dion.* 8.332 *μεμφόμενοι Σεμέλην ὅτι φώριον ἔσχεν ἀκοίτην*, 44.311 *ὕλα κασιγνήτοιο καὶ οὐ ξέρον ἔσχεν ἀκοίτην*. If this were correct, there would seem to be some reminiscence of the myth of Eudymion, on which see L. Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978) 477–90. It would explain even more clearly how Antinoos

and Diana came to be paired at Lanuvium in a funerary context, but it would hardly suit a relationship with Hadrian's sister deified as Selene, see above 11 n.

14 *Ἀδρια[ν]οῖο*. Although the Latin ending -ianus has a long ā, the scansion of -ianōio is distorted for the sake of the hexameter metre, either into 00 – 0, or into – – 0, with iota as a semi-vowel, cf. 20 and n., on *Διοκλητιανῶι*. (The second alternative is more likely, see M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford, 1982) 14. PJP.) The name of Hadrian is treated in the same way in P. Lit. Lond. 36.10 (*Ἀδριανός καὶ δ[ι]*) and in 1085 ii 6 (*πρώτος δ' Ἀδριανός προιεὶς χαλκήρεον ἔγχοσ*). In the mime prologue E. Heitsch, *Die gr. Dichterfragmente* No. XII.2 it is not clear to me what metre should be attributed to line 2 *ἄρτι Τραιαν[ῶ]*, but line 7, *ἄνακτα κωνῶν Ἀδριανὸν ἀγγελῶν*, seems to be an iambic trimeter with a long alpha in the relevant syllable. In the hendecasyllables of G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* 811, which may be by Hadrian himself, the quantity is also correct, *ἄκροθ[ε]ῖνιον Ἀδριανός ἄρκτου* (5).

For the same phenomenon in Latin see CIL III 3676 (see III.2 p. 1042) = ILS I 2558.3–4:

*Adriano potui qui iudice uasta profundi
Aequora Danuuii cunctis transnare sub armis.*

This is from a famous boast of a Batavian soldier, on which see most lately M. P. Speidel, *Ancient Society* 22 (1991) 277–82. Although the spelling *Adriano* may not be original, this metrical treatment of Hadrian's name seems to me to make the manuscript's claim that the author is the emperor himself even more unlikely, see *ibid.* 277, 279 and n. 11.

πόλι[ς]. For a recent synthesis of work on Antinoopolis see M. Zahrt, in W. Haase, H. Temporini, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 10 i 669–706, add F. A. J. Hoogendijk, P. Van Minnen, *Tyche* 2 (1987) 41–74.

νή[κος]. We need a feminine noun, see ii 15 *ἡ μὲν ἐριστάφυλος*, and, since it is the gift of the Nile and rich in grapes, an 'island' seems likely. Compare perhaps P. Hamb. I 23, a lease dated AD 569 of a vineyard situated [ἐ]ν τῇ κάτῳ π. . . νήσῳ πόλεως Ἀντινόου (21). According to the note the unread letters are 'fast ganz verlösch't'. The comparatively modern map reproduced by M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* opp. Pl. 6, shows something called Sheiba Island near Antinoopolis on the north. It appears to be a semicircular area of alluvial land round which the Nile now swings to the West, islanded, if at all, only by a canal. On the use of *νήκος* to signify a pocket of alluvial land see Drew-Bear, op. cit. p. 43, so that there is no need to suppose that this *νήκος* was even in the second or third century AD what we should term an island, but there does seem to be an implication that it was new ground brought into cultivation soon after the death of Antinoos.

16 *λελεγμένον ἄνθος Ἀχαιῖδος*. The citizens were organized in tribes and demes on the Greek model and enrolled from the upper, Hellenized, classes of the other nome capitals. They were described officially as *Ἀντινωεῖς Νέοι Ἕλληνες*, cf. *Tyche* 2 (1987) 43–4 (Text A lines 4–5, and n.).

εστ[ι]. I had hoped to read *ἐστιῶσα*, 'the other, housing the chosen flower of Achaëa, has been crowned as champion', but this seems irreconcilable with the traces. The clearest one is high up and rather close to the top of the tall iota, but there is another close to the foot of iota at a rather lower level. These give the impression of chi; even angular alphas do not usually come so far left or so low (although *ἐστιῶσα* might be a possible form, see Nonnus ed. R. Keydell p. *50. PJP).

17 *λιμένεων*. Not much is known about the Nile harbour of Antinoopolis, see E. Kühn, *Antinoopolis* 35, A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* i, 2 pp. 91–2. The plural may be justified by the facts, but we do not know of more than one. It does not seem likely that we could accept the construction *λιμένεων ἀριστεύειν πεδίοι[σ]*, as meaning 'excel the harbours of the plain'. The 'plain' appears to mean the Nile valley.

Antinoopolis enjoyed a customs exemption for goods which it had to import by way of the Nile for its own use, see F. A. J. Hoogendijk, P. van Minnen, *Tyche* 2 (1987) 41–74, esp. 53–8. It could be that this encouraged the development of river traffic.

D. Kessler, in A. Grimm, *Der Obelisk des Antinoos* 91–2, has now suggested that one of the reasons for the foundation of Antinoopolis was to provide an effective port for Hermopolis.

18 *Ζεῦς . . . Καπιτώλιος*. This cult title and the final prayer to the god to crown the poet with 'your Olympian olive' (39) encourage the suggestion that the verses were composed for delivery on the occasion of Capitoline games, see introd. p. 2 for the date of this celebration. The suggestion that XLV 3248 4–5 may possibly show that these games began on Thoth 26, see there 4 n. and cf. J. Whitehorne, *ANRW* 18.5 p. 3087 §4, should be viewed sceptically. The document is a scrap of the official diary of an exegetes; the entry for the preceding day refers to an event which he attended in the Sebasteum (*ἐν τε τῷ Σεβαστεῖ[ει]ω*, 2), that for

the next day to another in the theatre (ἐν ... ?) τῷ θεάτρῳ [, 6); on the thirtieth there was a session of the town council in the council room (νομίμης βουλῆς [...] (vac.) τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, 10-11). These entries strongly suggest that the relevant entry, which has κς' ἱεράς οἰκῆς [...] καὶ Καπιτω[], should be viewed as being most probably a reference to some event in the Oxyrhynchite Capitolium, for which see Whitehorne, op. cit. 3084.

19 For the commonplace of the imperial lordship of land and sea cf. P. Coll. Youtie II 66.1 n.; add D. L. Page, *Sel. Pap.* No. 141.6 ἀναξ χθονὸς ἠδὲ θ[αλάσσης], cf. A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 156 (on [Opp.], *Cyn.* 1.10-11), who cites A. Momigliano, *JRS* 32 (1952) 53-64 (chiefly on the Hellenistic precedents).

20 Διοκλητιανῶι. The mention of Diocletian alone confirms that it was during his short sole reign that the verses were composed and probably recited in public, see introd. p. 1.

The scansion of -ιανῶι, which should reflect the long ā in the Latin, is distorted for the sake of the hexameter metre, either into ∪∪ -, or into - - with iota as a semi-vowel, cf. 14 n.

24 Homeric γιωτός, 'brother', see LSJ s.v. (B), is particularly frequent in Nonnus.

27 On M. Aurelius Diogenes, prefect of Egypt, see introd. p. 1. He may have been related to the M. Aur. Diogenes known as governor (*legatus pro praetore*) of Caria with Phrygia from AD 255, see *REA* 93 (1991) 128. The name is surprisingly undistinguished for such high officials, but I am not sure that this does not strengthen the case for suspecting a link between them.

28 πόνων πολυγήθεια λήθη. This particularly and the whole passage in general give the impression that Diocletian issued some sort of amnesty when he came to power. A somewhat similar impression is given by *CJ* 9.43.2 (AD 286) *Cum eo tempore, quo indulgentia nostra crimina extinxit, accusatio a te instituta non fuerit, publicae abolitionis praescriptio cessat*, but the interpretation is not entirely unambiguous, see the discussion in W. Waldstein, *Untersuchungen zum römischen Begnadigungsrecht* 172, cf. 118-20. Better known is an amnesty associated with Diocletian's *uicennalia* and alluded to in XVIII 2187 21, see W. Seston, *CE* 22 (1947) 333-7, cf. W. Ensslin, *Aegyptus* 28 (1948) 178-94. It included a release of prisoners, see Eusebius, *De mart. Palaest.* II 4 ... τῆς ἀρχικῆς εἰκοσαετηρίδος ἐπιστάτης, κατὰ νομιζομένην δωρεὰν τῶν ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς πανταχῆ πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἀνακηρυχθείσης, μόνος ... μαρτυρίῳ κατεκομῆθη, '... when at the approach of the imperial *uicennalia* in accordance with a conventional grant liberty was proclaimed for all men in bonds everywhere, he alone ... gained the distinction of martyrdom'.

29 πᾶς χώρας. I have taken this to mean 'the whole land' of Egypt or 'every place' in Egypt, rather than 'every land', because it follows so closely the mention of Diogenes, whose authority was confined to Egypt, but the passage of Eusebius cited in the previous note may favour the broader sense.

30 τε. Around tau, mostly to its right, there is some faint ink, which might be remains of a delta washed out and replaced by tau, cf. next note.

31, 32 ἐν[δ]τ'οθε, δω[δ]τ'ίνην, cf. π[ε]δ]τ'άλο[ι]μ, 39, and previous note. The deltas are struck through, the taus written above. This phonetic mistake is common in Egypt and is due to 'bilingual interference', see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 82-3, cf. 46-8.

32-3 καὶ σὺ δέ ... Ἐπτά Νομῶν ... ἐπίτροπε. I suggest that the direct address is likely to indicate that this official was expected to attend the celebration of the games, while the compliments to Diocletian and to the prefect of Egypt are expressed in the third person because they were to be absent.

An official known as the ἐπίτροπος Ἐπτανομίας is attested from at least AD 302, but the evidence at present available indicates that our passage is more likely to have been addressed to an epistrategus of the Heptanomia, see J. D. Thomas, *The Roman Epistrategos* 64-8. The last epistrategus of this area known by name dates from AD 282, see L 3569 1 n., but the references to the epistrategus and his office continue as late as 289, see Thomas, op. cit. 66, who concludes that the epistrategus is not likely to have existed alongside the new procurator. There is evidence for sporadic use of the term ἐπίτροπος with reference to the epistrategus, see Thomas, op. cit. 47-50; add P. Rainer Cent. 68.24 and 20-24 n. In this case the use of it was probably enforced by the fact that ἐπιστράτηγος will not fit into the hexameter metre.

Compare perhaps PSI III 199, where the epistrategus organizes the Great Antinoeia as the representative of the prefect, although this does not prove that he attended the games. See also IX 1202, where a father applies to an acting epistrategus to correct the omission of his son's name from the list of ephebes at the approach of a celebration of the ephebic games held at Oxyrhynchus on the Antinoite model. It is possible that the connection with the games gives the explanation of the choice of the epistrategus as the authority to settle this matter, see the doubts of J. D. Thomas, op. cit. 97.

33 ἐπιτροπέ. Above the extended crossbar of the final epsilon is a mark like a small wedge open to the left. The shape is that of the διπλή, a lectional sign used for a variety of purposes in literary texts, cf. E. G.

Turner, *Greek Papyri* 117, but elsewhere always, I think, placed in the margin. A version of it, usually looking more like our cursive 7, is used also as a line-filler, see E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* 2p. 5 n.12 (= 'p. 6 n. 2). A very similar sign, placed at the same level as the writing, is used as a strong stop in the inscription SB VIII 9997.50, see M. N. Tod, *JEA* 37 (1951) 87 and Pl. VIII. Here it is perhaps most likely to be a stop, although the sense does not require a longer stop than usual. If my suggestion that the procurator was to be addressed in person is correct, the sign may have been to remind the performer to rehearse a pause for the audience to applaud and acclaim the procurator.

33-5 This reference to the official's previous activities in the Thebaid is interesting. It is difficult to think of a post with judicial authority over several cities of the Thebaid which would be junior to the epistrategus of the Heptanomia. The description really sounds like that of the epistrategate of the Thebaid, but there is only one example of an epistrategus who served in two districts, a certain Bassus, who was *epistrategus Pelusio item Thebaidis* before AD 135, see Thomas, op. cit. 186 no. 16, 192 no. 82, 194-5. Perhaps a possibility is that our man served with distinction as an acting epistrategus in the Thebaid and was then promoted to a vacancy in the Heptanomia, but there is no direct parallel. Or another possibility might be that he served as legal adviser, called *assessor* or *συνκάθεδρος*, to an epistrategus of the Thebaid, cf. Thomas, op. cit. 132, L 3570 3 with n. and introd., R. Kotansky, *ZPE* 88 (1991) 47-8, and after this experience was promoted to the neighbouring epistrategate.

35-6 Ink at the beginning of these lines appears to be blotting or accident.

35 διέπεε. Cf. P. Oxy. Hels 5.401 (ἐνῆκαμεν) and n., referring to VI 852¹ iv 18 (ἀνερμήνευτον) and E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* No. 49 (p. 88; παρ' ἄλλον 17, ἐφ' ἄνδαν[ε] 34).

36 [χ]λαυνοφόροι. Not in LSJ or Suppl. G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* cites Greg. Nazian. ep. 86 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 37.158C) and TLG offers no other instance. The sense is very obscure there; wearing the χλαῖνα—or χλανίς (159A)—seems to be inconsistent with a visit to Gregory and with prayers, εἰχαί, which perhaps means that it is a mark of paganism. Antinous seems to be wearing a χλαῖνα in P. Lit. Lond. 36.18 Ἀντίνοος χλαῖν. [χλαυνοφόρος occurs once in a fragment of hexameter verse on papyrus, W. Schubart, *BKT* V.1 (1907) 114=D. L. Page, *Select Papyri* (Literary) i No. 141=E. Heitsch, *Die gr. Dichterfragmente*, Suppl. S. 10, p. 50. It praises a Roman official, perhaps a *dux Thebaidos*, who delights the population of Thebes by showing them an imperial document and parading through the city on his horse. One line, incomplete, refers to his troops, who wear cloaks:

8(16) δείξαι δ' ἀθανάτοιο χαράγματα παμβασί[λ]ηος
χάρμα πόρεε ναετήσι δι' ἄστεος ἵππον ἐλ[αῖνων,
εἷς στρατ[ι]ῆς δὲ φάλαγξ χλαυνοφόρος ἦθελ[...]

For the present passage perhaps one speculation might be that it refers to a chorus of ephebes in military clothing. The proper term for their cloak is χλαμύς, but χλαῖνα is used in at least one metrical inscription, IG II² 3606.22, see on the subject M. N. Tod, *JEA* 37 (1951) 90, with L. Robert, *REG* 65 (1952) 190, No. 180. Going further it might be suggested that the main poem was a choral hymn to Antinous and the peroration a solo by the poet and leader, with ἡμετέροις καμάτοιιν (38) including the chorus, while μοι (37) and με (39) apply to the poet.

μάκαρ κρηπτοῦχε. That this is Zeus is made clear by the reference to 'your Olympian olive' in 39.

37 After ἦοι there are faint remains of ink still unread and unexplained, probably accidental.

39 π[ε]δ]τ'άλο[ι]μ. For the phonetic spelling see 30, 31 and n.

ἐ[λ]αίης. The epsilon is virtually certain. Strictly speaking the Olympian crown of victory was of κόττωος, wild olive, see e.g. L. Robert, *Hellenica* VII 95-7, *CRAI* 1982.266 and n.181, 269 and n.188, and it would have been metrically possible to write πετάλοισ κοττωίοι. However, ἐλαία was acceptable as the description of it, see e.g. Herodot. VIII 26 ... τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον, Dio Chrysost. 14.110 τὸν Ὀλυμπιακοῦ στέφανον ἔστε δήπουθεν ἐλαίων ὄντα, Nonnus 37.140 οἶδεν Ὀλυμπιάδος κοτυνηφόρον ὄζον ἐλαίης, cf. Robert, *CRAI* 1982.272 and n.202.

It must be admitted that the crowns for the Capitoline games were of oak, see P. Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri* p. 39, and especially L. Robert, *L'épigramme grecque* (Entretiens Fondation Hardt XIV) 267 and n.5. This may invalidate my suggestion, but I would argue that in this passage the conventions of Greek invocation to Zeus are predominant, although the mention of Capitoline Zeus in 18 indicates that the games in question were Capitoline. In any case the crowns might by this date have been made of metal, see L. Robert, *CRAI* 1982.239-40 and n.5, N. Duval in C. Landes (ed.), *Le cirque et les courses de chars* 135-146, esp. 140-1, cf. 4357 13-15 n.

4353. ADVANCE FROM A MASTER WEAVER TO AN EMPLOYEE

100/199(a)

12 × 26 cm

14 April 304

The document is a legal receipt for two talents advanced by the owner of a tapestry-weaving workshop to one of the weavers, who in return undertakes to work there for a daily wage of one hundred and twenty drachmas and to return the advance, which is the equivalent of one hundred days' wages, if ever he should leave the workshop. On the salary level see 15 n.

The item's greatest interest is that it is a surprisingly early example of a type which becomes common in the fifth century and lasts till the seventh, see A. Jördens, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 164–5 and n. 5, where the earliest dated example is given as P. Köln II 102, of 418; cf. P. Rein. II 105 of 432, also concerning a tapestry weaver. For a discussion of the type see the same author in P. Heid. V 276–84, cf. 159–60.

It is also surprising that the seemingly banal compounds *ταπητόυφος* and *ταπητοῦφικός* occur here for the first time: on hiatus in such compounds see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 318–9. In this period the usual word for the artisan is *ταπητάριος* (cf. 4399 10, P. Rein. II 105.11) or the diminutive *ταπητάς*. On these and related words and on the trade see E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile* 118–119. Most of the patterned textiles which survive from Late Roman times are tapestry-woven and from Egypt, see e.g. *The Textile Museum Journal* 21 (1982)=J. Trilling, *The Roman Heritage. Textiles from Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean 300 to 600 AD*, 39, with the examples illustrated throughout. Still, the variety is so great that it is almost impossible to have a clear idea of what type or quality of tapestry our workshop may have been producing.

The writing runs along the horizontal fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut, as is proved by a sheet-join running vertically about 1 cm from the right edge. The back is blank.

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν[ν]

Αὐτοκρατόρων Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ [θ']

καὶ Μαξιμιαν[ο]ῦ τὸ η Σεβαστῶν. [

Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλᾶς Ζωϊλάτος μ[η(τρὸς) Τα-

5 ἀφύγιος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁ[ξυρυγ]χ[ε]ι[τῶν

πόλεως, ταπητόυφος τῆν τέχ[νην,

Αὐρηλίω Κεφάλωνι Ἀμμωνίου. [. . . .

τος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, ἐπιστάτη ἐργ[α-

στηρίου τῆς αὐτῆς τέχνης, χαίρει[ν].

10 ὁμ[ο]λογῶ ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ <σοῦ> ἐν προχρεία

ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δύο, (γίνονται) (τάλαντα) β', ἐφ' ᾧτ' ἐμέ

συνεργάσασθαι σοὶ ἐν ᾧ ἔχεις ἐργαστηρίω

ταπητοῦφικῶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει λαμβά-
 νοντα παρὰ σοῦ ἡμερησίως ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ
 15 ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, καὶ μὴ ἐξεί-
 ναί μοι ἐγκαταλίπην τὸ ἐργαστήριον. ἐὰν
 δὲ ἐγκαταλίψω, πάραυτα ἐκτίσω σοὶ τὰ
 προκείμενα τοῦ ἀ[ρ]γυρίου[ν] τ[ά]λαντα δύο
 ἄνευ τόκου καὶ ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως
 20 καὶ εὐρησιλογεία[ς], γεινομένης σοὶ τῆς
 πράξεως παρὰ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-
 χόντων μοι πάντων. κύριον τὸ τῆς προ-
 χρείας χειρόγραφον ἄπλοῦν γραφέν παν-
 ταχῆ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ
 25 σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι καὶ ἐπερωτηθ[ε]ι[ς] ὡμολόγησα.
 (ἔτους) κ' καὶ (ἔτους) ιβ' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων, Φαρμούθι ιθ.
 (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλᾶς ἔσχον τὰ τῆς προ[ο]χρείας τά-
 30 λαντα δύο καὶ ἀποδώσω ὡς πρόκει[α]ι καὶ ἐπερω-
 τηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος Ἀγαθὸς Δαι-
 μων Διονυσίου ἔγραψα ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτοῦ ἀξιοθεῖς
 φαμένου μὴ εἰδέναι γράμματα.

1 ὑπατων	4 ζωϊλατος	5 λαμς bis; l. Ὁξυρυγιτων	6 ταπητοῦφος	13 ταπητοῦφικω:
l. ταπητοῦφικῶ	14 ὑπερ	16 l. ἐγκαταλείπειν	17 l. ἐγκαταλείψω, ἐκτείσω	18 l.
προκείμενα	19 ὑπερθεσεως	20 l. εὐρησιλογίας, γεινομένης	21 ὑπαρ-	24 ὑπερ
26 L κ', L ιβ'	30 l. πρόκειται	32 ν'		

'Under the consuls our lords emperors Diocletian for the 9th time and Maximian for the 8th time, the Augusti.'

'Aurelius Heraclas son of Zoilas mother Taaphynchis from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, tapestry-weaver by trade, to Aurelius Cephalon son of Ammonius (mother?) ... from the same city, master of a workshop of the same trade, greeting.'

'I acknowledge that I have received from you by way of advance two talents of money, total tal. 2, upon condition that I work with you in the tapestry-weaving workshop which you hold, receiving from you daily in respect of wages one hundred and twenty drachmas of money and that it be illegal for me to leave the workshop. If I do leave, I shall thereupon pay to you the aforesaid two talents of money without interest and without any delay or excuse, the right of exaction belonging to you both from me personally and from all my possessions. The chirograph of the advance, written in a single copy, is binding wherever it is produced in evidence and for any person who produces it on your behalf, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

'Year 20 and year 12 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian the Augusti, and of Constantius and Galerius the most noble Caesars, Pharmuthi 19.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Heraclas, received the two talents of the advance and I shall return (them) as

aforesaid and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent. I, Aurelius Agathus Daemon son of Dionysius, wrote on his behalf on request, since he said that he did not know letters.⁷

1-3 For the consulship see R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 142-3.

4 μ[η(τρὸς) Τα-. The remains suit mu very well and are incompatible with τ[οδ] Ἀφύγγιος as a papyronymic; μητρὸς would probably have needed to be abbreviated, which is very common. Cf. 7-8 n.

6 ταπητόφωτος. *Add. lexx.*, cf. 13 and introd. para. 3.

7-8 [. . .]τος. The trace in line 7 is minuscule, but it seems likely that we have μ[η(τρὸς)], as in 4, followed by a short name such as Καρᾶ]τος or Ταοῦ]τος.

13 ταπητοῦφεικῶ (l. -φικῶ). *Add. lexx.*, cf. 6 and introd. para. 3.

15 Dr. 120 = den. 30. In Diocletian's Price Edict of 301 a wool-worker (*lanarius*, *λανάριος*) is supposed to receive, with his food, maximum daily rates of den. 40, 30, 20 or 15 for various grades of wool (§ 21.1a-4); a linen-weaver (*linteo*, *λίνυφος*) was to get, with his food, daily, den. 40 for first category work or den. 20 for the second category (§ 21.5-6). Egyptian tapestry would most frequently have had a linen warp and woollen wefts, and the complications of tapestry weaving would demand much more skill than plain weave: one might have expected a higher wage here. However, the edict professes to lay down maximum, not minimum, prices, and Heraclas may have been young or lacking in experience. This type of contract seems designed to attract people in need and hold them by a burden of debt.

Note also *ibid.* § 19.32, where the price of a *τάπηξ Αἰγύπτιος*, dimensions unspecified, is set at den. 1,750. In 352, after another half-century of inflation, a *τάπηξ* made for the occasion of the visit of a *dux* to Oxyrhynchus cost den. 2,250,000 (XII 1431)

26-28 For the conversion of the date to 14 April 304 see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 10 and 14, with *eidem*, *The Chronological Systems* 99.

4354. APPLICATION FOR THE OPENING OF A WILL

11 B.145/C(c)

12 × 11 cm

307

Documents of this type from an earlier period are fairly well known, see especially P. Merton II 75, with extensive commentary, and XLIV 3166. This is the first addressed to a *curator civitatis*, although it was known from surviving records of proceedings in his court that it was one of his functions to preside over the official opening of wills, see especially LIV 3758 134-55, 181-213, cf. 56, with introd. p. 148 and 141-2 n., and 3741 39-40.

The *curator* is the first to hold that office in Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Seuthes alias Horion, on whom see LIV p. 222. He is known from some time in 303 to 4 May 307, and was out of office by 29-30 September 308. This document is from 307, but the month and day do not survive in full; three possible restorations of lines 13-14, see n., would suggest dates of 17-25 March, 16-24 April, both within his known term of office, or 19-27 October, while the consular year clause implies a date before 20 November, see 1-3 n.

The applicant, Aurelius Theonas son of Diodorus, to whom the dead man entrusted his will, was a victor in sacred games with the title of *παράδοξος*, see 7 n.

The text runs along the fibres, but there is no sheet join to prove that this side is the recto of the original roll from which the piece was cut. On both back and front there are writing practices in a paler ink and thinner pen which have the appearance

of pen trials, cf. H. Harrauer, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht* (MPER NS XV) Nos. 1-4, pp. 25-26, Taf. 1. Also on the back, along the fibres, are remains of two lines in a tiny and rapid hand, much abbreviated, of which nothing comprehensible has been read, but it is likely that they formed an endorsement of some kind to the present text.

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν [κυρίων] ἡμῶν
 αὐτοκρατόρω[ν] Σεύηρου Σεβαστοῦ
 καὶ Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρ[ο]ς.
 [Α]ὐρηλίω Σεύθῃ τῷ καὶ Ὀρίωνι λογιστῇ
 5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Θεωνᾶ Διοδώρου ἀπὸ τῆς
 λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγγ(ιτῶν) πόλεως ἱερονίκου
 παραδόξου. ἐπειδὴ πρὸ μηνῶν τοῦ-
 των ὀλίγων Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ Ἄρποκρᾶς Ἡρᾶ-
 10 τος ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτόθι περιῶν χαρτίον μοι
 ἐσφραγισμένον παρέθετο ὡς, εἰ τὸν [βίον
 διεξέλθοι{εν}, τοῦτο πρὸς λύσειν ἐπεν[εχθῆναι
 καὶ γνωσθῆναι αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην, [αὐτοῦ
 ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένου τῆ . . . Φα[3-5 , τοῦ-
 15 τοῦ ἐπιφέρω καὶ ἀξιῶ λυθῆναι, ὥστε γν[ωσθῆ-
 ναι τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα [αὐ]τῷ. (ἔτους) ἰ[
 τῶν κυ[ρίων] ἡμῶν Μ[αξ]ιμιαν[οῦ καὶ
 Σεύη]ρου

1 ὑπατων 4 l. Σεύθει 6 λαμ[μ]καὶλαμ[μ]σοξυρυγγ, ἱερονικου 15 l. ἐγγεγραμμένα; L = (ἔτους)

'In the consulship of our lords the emperors Severus Augustus and Maximinus the most noble Caesar.
 To Aurelius Seuthes alias Horion, *curator*, from Aurelius Theonas son of Diodorus from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, victor in sacred games, the astounding.'

'Whereas these few months ago Dionysius alias Harpocras son of Heras from this locality, while he was alive, deposited with me a sealed roll, so that, if he were to come to the end of his life, it might be presented to be opened, and his will might be known, and since he departed from the company of mortals on the . . . th of the month of Pha..., I present this and ask that it be opened so that the matters written in it may be known.'

'Year (15, 3, 1, or 16, 4, 2) of our lords Maximian (Galerius) and Severus ...'

1 For the restoration of [κυρίων] rather than δεσποτῶν, which is in any case too long for the space, see D. Hagedorn, K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 168.

1-3 For the consulship see R. S. Bagnall, etc., *The Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 149. In the consular date clauses of the papyri the name of Severus was dropped at some time between 9 May (XLIV 3192) and

20 November (4355), so that 20 November 307 is a *terminus ante quem* for this document, see 4355 6-7 n. See below 13-14 n., 15-17 n., for possibilities of getting a closer approximation to the date.

4 For the *curator* see introd. para. 2.

5 Theonas son of Diodorus has not been located elsewhere.

6 *ιερονίκου*. Cf. LI 3611 12-13 n.

7 *παραδόξου*. Cf. LV 3787 58 n., J. C. Shelton, *ZPE* 77 (1989) 207, and P. Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri* p. 40, for the athletic feats which may be implied by this title.

8 Dionysius alias Harpocras son of Heras has not been located elsewhere.

9 *χαρτίον*. See N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 77. The diminutive form of the word does not necessarily imply a small roll, but in connection with a will it is not likely to have been as big as a book roll.

10-11 *εἰ τὸν [βίον] διεξέλοι[εν]*. Cf. P. Lond. III 977.15 (p. 232) *διεξελλούσης τὸν βίον*, of the writer's dead sister. The plural ending seems to be mere error, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 360.

13 *ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένου*. Cf. P. Herm. 20.10-11 *κινδυνεύει ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι*, with note, and XXVII 2474 25-6 *ἐάν ... ἐξ ἀ. γένηται ἄτεκνος*.

13-14 τῆ . . . Φα[3-5, τοῦ]το. After τῆ there is a narrow hole in which some ink may have been lost. The slight traces of the day number are from the tops of letters; the space they occupy is wide enough to suggest that the number was in two digits, probably twenty-something, i.e. κ , rather than in the teens, i.e. probably not ι . Phi is strongly indicated by the prominent vertical projecting above the line and very deeply below. Phamnoth, Pharmuthi, and Phaophi are all possibilities, and the likely range of days is 21 to 29, i.e. 17-25 March, 16-24 April, or 19-27 October 307, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 96, 99. The first two possibilities would place the date of death before the last known date of the term of office of the *curator*, which was 4 May 307, see introd. para. 2.

τοῦ]το is palaeographically very suitable in spite of the abrasion and is supported by the parallels in P. Mert. II 75.18 and P. Fouad I 32.15, although the antecedent is there *ἐκδόσιμον* and not *χαρτίον*.

15-17 The restoration of the figures for the year depend on the restoration of the month name in 13, see 13-14 n.; the first two possibilities, Phamnoth and Pharmuthi, would fall in regnal year 15 Galerius, 3 Severus, 1 Maximinus and Constantine, the other, Phaophi, would fall in year 16, 4, 2, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Regnal Formulas* 31, which also shows that the regnal year formula will have continued *Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Μαξιμίνου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καίσαρων*, plus month and day.

4355. FRAGMENT OF RECEIPT

22 3B.14/G(5-6)a

11 × 6.5 cm

20 November 307

This fragment comes from the foot of the document, which describes itself as a receipt (4), but not enough remains to make its nature clear in detail.

The interest resides in the consular formula for 307, which omits the name of the deceased Severus. This is now the earliest surviving example of the omission, see 6-7 n.

The writing of the receipt runs along the fibres but there is no sheet-join to prove that this surface is the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut. On the back there is a short endorsement in a different hand, written very rapidly and rather faintly with a thin pen across the vertical fibres. It has not yet been possible to decipher it.

κ . κ . [.] ὑποθήκης ὑπαρχόντων
αὐτοῦ ἀκολ[ού]θως ᾧ ἔθετο ἐνγράφω
τῷ καὶ παραθειμένῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. κυρία ἢ ἀποχή καὶ ἐπερωτηθ(εῖς)

5 ὁμολόγησα. (vac.)
ὑπατίας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Μαξιμίνου τοῦ
ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος, (m. 2?) Ἄθῶρ κγ⁻.

2 1. ἐγγράφω

3 1. παραθειμένῳ

4 ἱερῷ, ἐπερωτηθ^θ

6 ὑπατίας: 1. ὑπατίαις

'... mortgage of his possessions in accordance with the document which he issued and which is being deposited with them in the temple. The receipt is binding and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

'In the consulship of our lord Maximinus the most noble Caesar, (2nd hand?) Hathyr 23.'

3 παραθειμένῳ, 1. παραθειμένῳ. See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 244, citing PSI XIII 1338.6, 13 *καταθειμένης, καταθειμένῳ*.

4 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. Cf. LIX 3993 19-20 for an arbitrated agreement being solemnized in a temple.

6-7 See R. S. Bagnall, etc. *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 149 for the formula which drops the name of Severus Augustus, attested by P. Merton I 31.12, 19 and P. Col. VII 138.9 (both 24 December). Severus surrendered to Maximian at Ravenna in spring 307 and soon after was taken to Rome where he met his death, see T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire* 39. According to Bagnall etc. loc. cit. P. Mil. I 55 (=SB VI 8998), where his name still appears in the consular formula, dates from 29 September, see also R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 105, *Regnal Formulas* 31, where it is stated that the year number should have been 16-4-2 instead of 15-3-1. However, in this lease, which is of a house and not of land, there is no presumption that the term should have begun in the autumn and the photos (Tav. XXIII or O. Montevicchi, *La Papirologia* Tav. 82) show that the month name, Φαῶφι as read, is doubtful. Phaophi of year 15-3-1 fell in 306, whereas the consuls are those of 307. In my opinion it is likely that in P. Mil. I 55.8-9 we should read ἀπὸ νεομηρίας τοῦ ὄντος μηνός [Φαμενώθ] τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιε (ἔτους) γ (ἔτους) α (ἔτους), i.e. the lease ran from 1 Phamnoth = 25 February 307, which relieves us of the necessity of 'correcting' the regnal year numbers. The narrow space for the month name is probably due to Verschleifung (rather than abbreviation) and there are no traces which are convincing as the end of the phi-iota of Φαῶφι.

With this doubtful item removed the latest consular date available which includes the name of Severus is XLIV 3192 of 9 May. However, Stud. Pal. XX 77 has a regnal formula for 1 Mesore = 25 July 307 which includes Severus, see Bagnall, Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 31, citing *ZPE* 29 (1978) 264-5 and n. 6. This makes it likely that Severus would not have disappeared from the consular formulas before that date, so that the change probably came between 25 July and 20 November.

Here Maximinus is called *κυρίου*, not *δεσπότης* as in P. Merton I 31 and P. Col. VII 138. See D. Hagedorn, K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 168 on the change from *κύριος* to *δεσπότης* which became noticeable precisely in this year.

7 The month and day look slightly different, but perhaps it is more likely that they were added at a different time in the same hand.

4356. FRAGMENT OF REGISTER OF LAND AND RENTS

11 1B.145/D(a)

15 × 27.5 cm

Third century

The register is written in a fine large cursive hand along the fibres on what seems to be the recto of its roll. There is no manufacturer's sheet join to prove this; instead there is a complicated join fairly close to the left edge. It looks as if another piece of papyrus with a manufacturer's join very close to its right edge was at some stage pasted to the surviving piece. The text suggests that it was part of a longish roll; perhaps the

clerk found it necessary to lengthen the piece with which he started. This fragment has been cut specially so that an office memorandum about municipal accounts could be written on the back, see 4357. The top and foot of the register survive, together with the beginnings of sixteen lines of one column set out with a generous layout in three paragraphs.

The date of 4357 is October 317, or not long after, but this document refers to 'the present 1st year' (2-3), and such a date with a single regnal year figure must refer back at least as far as 284/5, the first year of Diocletian, who took Maximian as his colleague in the course of his second year and went on to found the tetrarchies, so that from 286 to the final victory of Constantine in September 324 each year always had at least two numbers to reflect the seniority of the emperors. The register could be even earlier than 284/5, but it is certain that the back was used as scrap paper at least twenty-two years after it was written, cf. E. G. Turner, *JEA* 40 (1954) 102-6, who concluded that the secondary use of a papyrus document usually occurred within twenty-five years of the first, although he produced examples of much longer intervals, cf. id. *BASP* 15 (1978) 163-9.

κωμητῶν ὁμοίως Ἄνω τ[ο](παρχίας) [
 Πατερμ[ο]ῦθις λεπρός κωμάρ[χης] ... τοῦ ἐνε-
 στῶτος α (ἔτους) ὀφείλ(ει) ὑπὲρ ἐκφορί[ων] ... περὶ κώμην (?)
 5 *Κενῶν* ἐκ τ(οῦ) Ἀπολλωνίου [
 (πυροῦ) χο(ίνικας) ἕξ (ἡμικυ), ἀν(ἀ) (πυροῦ) ἀρτάβας) ε και
 (δραχμὰς) μ (ἀρουρῶν) δ[
 προετελοῦντο δὲ ἐκφο(ρίων) (πυροῦ) ἐν θ[έματι (?) δημοσίῳ (?)

(vac.)

ἀνυπάρκτων ὁμοίως και μ[
 (πρότερον) Πανσανίου τοῦ και Φιλοσαρά[πιδ(ος)]
 ἐκ τ(οῦ) Διονυσίου ἰππικοῦ κλήρου) κ[

(vac.)

10 Ἐντείεως. (v.) Πατὰς Κολλούθ[ου] ... ὀφείλ(ει) ὑπὲρ
 ἐκφο(ρίων) και φόρων τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος α (ἔτους) ... (πρότερον) Παν-
 σανίου τοῦ και Φιλοσαράπιδ(ος) ἐκ [τ(οῦ)
 κολ(λήματος) ζ, ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) η (ἡμίσεως) φακῶ και χόρτ[ω]

ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) β d ἡ ἰς ξδ φακ(ῶ) χόρτω (ἀρουρ-) . [
 15 γ(ίνονται) φακ(ῶ) και χό(ρτω) (ἀρουραι) γ d -, ἀβρόχ(ου) και
 ἀσπ[όρου] ... κατὰ (?)
 κυμφωνίαν γενομ(ένην) τῶ διελ(θόντι) (ἔτει) (πυροῦ) . [

1 τ[ο] [?] 3 ἀσοφείνπερ 4 ἐκ^τ 5 + χ^οεξ^σαν^ς+^ο, < μ 6 ἐκφο+ 8 α'=
 (πρότερον) φιλοσαράπιδ^δ: cf. 12 9 ἐκ^τ, κ^λ 11 ἐκφο 12 φιλοσαράπιδ^δ 13 κῶσαπο, 5'
 14 βδ^ηισξδ φα^κ 15 γ'φα^κ, χ^ο, γd-αβρο^κ 16 l. κυμφωνίαν; γενομ^κ, διέξ +

'(Category of) villagers likewise, for the Upper toparchy. ... Paternuthis the leper, comarch ... for the present first year, owes(?) in respect of rents in kind (for so many aruras?) in the vicinity (of the village?) of Senyris from the allotment of Apollonius ... six and a half choenices of wheat; (and) for 4(+?) aruras at the rate of 5 artabas of wheat and 40 drachmas ... There were previously paid for rents in kind (so much) wheat on public (?) deposit (?)...'

'(Category of) non-existent persons likewise and ... belonging formerly to Pausanias alias Philosarapis ... from the cavalry allotment of Dionysius ...'

'Enteis. Patas son of Colluthus (... owes in respect of) rents in kind and rents in money for the present (first year ...) belonging formerly to Pausanias alias Philosarapis from the allotment of ... page 6, from 8½ aruras (sown) in lentils and fodder crops ... from 2¼, ⅓, ⅙, ⅛ aruras (so many) aruras ... in lentils, fodder crops ... Total in lentils and fodder crops 3¼ aruras, (for so many aruras?) unwatered and unsown (?) ... (in accordance with?) an agreement drawn up in the past year (so much) wheat ...'

1 κωμητῶν. Village landholders are usually matched by πολῖτων, city residents who hold land in the village, cf. e.g. PSI VII 819.9-16, with P. Cair. Isid. 9 introd. pp. 76-77, 11 introd. p. 106. In XII 1531 the contrast is with γεούχ(ων), landowners, which in that context must have the implication that they are not residents of the village. Why receipts were so divided is not precisely known, but we may guess that these sums were collected by different groups of compulsory public servants, cf. P. NYU 3.1-2 *ειτολόγοι ἦται* (l. ἦτοι?) ἀπαιτῆται κωμ(ω)τῶν κώμης Καραγίδος. The form of this register suggests that it is a product of the official administrative system. If so, the land was probably state land on lease to tenants from whom the rents and taxes were due to the state, cf. 6 n. This is in a way corroborated by the fact that the municipal account on the back is associated with a logistes, see 4357 2, although this government post did not exist till c. AD 303, cf. LIV p. 222.

Ἄνω τ[ο](παρχίας). On the Oxyrhynchite toparchies see most recently P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 69 (1989) 113 n.3; her article considers the relation between them and the *pagi*, the units of a new division of the district which was introduced c. AD 307-8, see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile* 98. This again reflects the interval between the uses of the front and the back, cf. introd.

τ[ο](παρχίας). Above the tau is a high trace which comes from the arching sign, a vestigial pi, which is usually used in abbreviating this word, cf. e.g. P. Wash. Univ. II 81.17, 18, Pl. IXb.

2 λεπρός. This term is rare in the documentary papyri: P. Mich. IV i 223.1189 (p. 50; λυφρο(θ) pap.), 224.2024 (p. 195; λεπροῦ pap.), 225.1751 (p. 384); all these relate to the same person, Maximus the leper. For the scant references in the medical texts see M.-H. Marganne, *Inventaire analytique des papyrus grecs de médecine* 87, 179, 302. Add now the early seventh century references to lepers by the term κελεφοί in J. Gascou, *Un codex fiscal hermapolite*, especially pp. 78-9.

κωμάρ[χης]. Cf. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 36-7. Perhaps the name of his village, which was possibly Senyris, see 4, is to be restored, but if the village had been the same perhaps *περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην* would have been preferred in 3-4.

3 α (ἔτους). See introd.

4 Κενῶν. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 170. It was already known to be in the Upper toparchy.

ἐκ τ(οῦ) Ἀπολλωνίου. Sc. κλήρου, which may or may not have followed, cf. 9. No allotment of an Apollonius is known in connection with this village, see P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 168-71.

5 The run of the sense is not clear. Presumably the 6½ choenices are part of what he owed, i.e. accusative after *ῥφειλ(ει)*. Probably this sum was due on ground of which the extent and the rate per arura were specified somewhere in the lost ends of the lines. After that comes a rate of rent, *ἀνά* plus the accusative distributively, giving the amount due per arura, cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik* II ii 402. This probably refers forward to a second area, which is defined in (*ἀρουρῶν*) δ[*κτλ.*

6 *ἐν θ(έματι) (?) δημοσίῳ (?)*. This precise phrase, although it occurs only in PSI I 73.16 and BGU XI 2126 ii 13-14 (=J. D. Thomas, *JJP* 18 (1974) 239-244=SB XIV 11403), has received a detailed comment from N. Lewis, *BASP* 13 (1976) 167-9. It means that the rent is to be paid into a deposit account in a public granary, with the special implication that it is to be measured by the official granary keepers and that it is to arrive there free of all costs to the creditor, in this case, as suggested above in 1 n., the state. The situation is similar in BGU 2126, where the land had been confiscated by the state from a large landowner, Claudia Isidora alias Apia.

7 *ἀνυπάρκτων*. This rare word means 'non-existent'. In P. Mich. VI 426.11 it refers to an incorrect name under which the petitioner had been appointed unlawfully to a public service; in PSI XII 1260.13 the context is damaged but some land has been 'delivered to' (*παρὰδεδόται*; perhaps 'assigned to?') non-existent names again; in BGU XV 2490.6 again the context is damaged but the non-existent items are probably sheep, registered but not to be found; in XVII 2131 12 the petitioner complains that he has been registered as having a non-existent property qualification, *ἀνυπάρκτων πόρον*. Nearer to our context, which obviously requires a land category, is P. Giss. 7.8, 17, where the petitioner wants to be released from compulsory cultivation of state land, *ἀξιώ ... τοῦ μὲν ... (ἀρούρης) (ὀγδόου) καὶ τοῦ ... (ἀρούρης) (τετάρτου) ... ἀνυπάρκτων ὄντων ἀπολυθῆναι*, 'I request to be exempted from the eighth of an arura ... and from the quarter of an arura ... which are non-existent (?)' (14-17). The reference in line 8 is to *βασιλικῆς* (sc. *γῆς*) *ἀνυπάρκτου* (*ἀρούρης*) (*τετάρτου*). Again the exact meaning is not clear; it could mean that land once cultivated has been swept away by floods or covered by desert sand, as suggested in P. Giss. 4-7 introd. p. 25, or it might refer to faulty or fraudulent recording in the tax or rent registers, cf. 2131 introd. In either case it would probably have been a debit entry in this register.

(*πρότερον*) *Παυσανίου τοῦ καὶ Φιλοσαρά[πιδος]*. Cf. 11-12. It seems likely that this name has occurred in P. Harr. I 69.15, where the published text has] *Λυκανία δύο καὶ Φιλοσαράπιδι τ[...]λλων ου*. A photograph shows that] *Παυσανι-* is certain, but because of straying fibres and distortion it does not show a perfectly clear text. By disregarding some traces which seem to be misplaced it is possible to suggest that the document had] *Παυσανίας ὁ καὶ Φιλοσαράπις ἐκ τ[οῦ] Ἀπολλωνίου*, cf. 4, although the allotment name here is not in either of the sections containing the personal name. P. Harr. 69 is assigned to the early third century, but after the death in 217 of Caracalla, who is referred to as *diuus* (19). In its damaged state at least it seems to give no more information relevant to this text.

9 *ἐκ τ(οῦ) Διονυσίου ἱππικοῦ κλήρου*. An allotment named after a Dionysius is connected with the village of Chysis in the Upper toparchy in XIV 1724 8 (description), cf. P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 173; the *Διο(υ)ίου Διογ(ένου)* whom she lists tentatively, see *ibid.* n. 33, from XII 1535r. 9, does not seem to be a cleruch, in spite of the index to P. Oxy. XII (p. 309). Add the unlocated allotment of Dionysius extracted from an unpublished part of VII 1044 (iii 7) by L. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 13; the reference there to XII 1534 9, which does indeed mention another Dionysius, is not to a cleruch.

ἱππικοῦ. Cavalry allotments were larger than those of the infantry, except in the case of the royal footguards, cf. J. Lesquier, *Les institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* 175-6.

10 *Ἐντείεως*. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 46-7; also Upper toparchy.

13 *κολλ(ή)ματος* 5 (= *ἐκτου*), 'page 6', would be a reference to some other register. Perhaps also possible is *κολλ(η)μάτων* 5 (= *ἕξ*), 'consisting of 6 pages'. On *κόλλημα* see N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 79-83, *id. Papyrus in Classical Antiquity. A Supplement* (Pap. Brux. 23) 34.

4357. MEMORANDUM CONCERNING MUNICIPAL ACCOUNTS

11 IB.145/D(a)

15 × 27.5 cm

October 317?

This document consists of fifteen lines complete written across the fibres on the verso of a rectangular fragment cut from a register of land and rents published above

as 4356. It is upside down with respect to the register and is written in a practised small rapid hand with abbreviations; it looks like an office memorandum. It mentions the flight of a man called Nicobulus who had been treasurer of the city fund, with the result that no proper records had been kept of money expended in the previous year towards the celebration of quadrennial Capitoline games, cf. 4352 introd. para. 3.

μηνιαία Φαῶφι ιβς καὶ ις, βς'' ἐπὶ

Ἀμμων(ιανοῦ) λογι(στοῦ). (vac.)

καὶ προαγγέλωται ἐπὶ μηνῶ[ν] Ἀθύρ καὶ Χοίακ

τοῦ διελθό[ν]τος ἔτους εἰς τὸν ἑνταῦθα ἐπιτε-

5 λεσθέντα ὑ(πὲρ) νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς

τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν βασιλέων τε καὶ Καιάρων

ιερόν Καπιτωλιακὸν πενταετηρικὸν ἀγῶνα

τὰ μὴ διὰ μηνιαίων λόγων σημανθέντα ἄχρει

δεῦρο διὰ τὸ Νεικόβουλον, ταμίαν ὄντα πολει(τι)κ(ῶν)

χρ(ημάτων),

10 ἀνακεχ(ωρηκέμαι), προ... δὲ γεγενῆσθαι ἕξωθεν, μετὰ τὰ

ἐπινοηθέντα π[.]λογ...χ... τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ἀγῶνος

ἀργ(υρίου) (τάλαντα) υκζ (δηνάρια) φ' καὶ τὴν γενομένην ἐπί-

15 δοσιν τῶν βουλευτῶν (τάλαντων) ρ' μόνων, (τάλαντα) ξ', ἐν-

τεῦθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολειτικοῦ λόγου ἀκολουθῶς τῇ

κατακ[ε]μμένη κελεύσει καὶ τῷ ἔθει (τάλαντα) ριε.

2 ἀμμωνιολογῆ 5 υ' 6 δεσποτῶν: π corr. (from η?) 7 ἱερον 8 l. ἄχρι 9 l. Νεικόβουλον; πολεικ(ῶν); l. πολιτικῶν 10 ἀνακεχ' 11 α' (= αὐτοῦ)? 12 ἀργ 14 l. πολειτικοῦ

'Monthly reports for Phaophi of year 12 and 10, 2, in the term of office of Ammonianus, *curator*.'

'There has also been expended previously in the months of Hathyr and Choeac of the past year towards the sacred Capitoline quadrennial games celebrated here for the victory and perpetual continuance of our masters the emperors and Caesars, not recorded in the monthly accounts hitherto, because Nicobulus, who was treasurer of the municipal funds, has absconded, but (and?) ... gone abroad, in addition to the 427 talents 500 denarii of money planned (?) ... of the same games and to the contribution of the councillors of 100 talents only, as completed (?) 60 talents, directly from the municipal account in accordance with the order which remains upon record and with the custom, 115 talents.'

1 For the year 12 Constantine, 10 Licinius, 2 Crispus, Constantine II, and Licinius junior (=AD 317/8) see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 39, *idem, The Chronological Systems* 72. The month is September/October 317. On the reasonable supposition that this document was written soon after the close of the accounting period its date will be near the end of October 317. Cf. 4356 introd.

2 Ἀμμων(ιανοῦ) λογι(στοῦ). The date falls in the first period of office of Valerius Ammonianus alias Gerontius, for which see LIV p. 223, cf. 224 for his second term.

3 On the introductory *καὶ* see 10-12 n.

3-4 Hathyr and Choecac of the previous year (11, 9, 1) cover the period from 28 October to 26 December 316, see Bagnall, Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 39, *The Chronological Systems* 72, 97.

4-7 It has been convincingly argued by P. Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri* 137-8, that the first celebration of quadrennial Capitoline games at Oxyrhynchus took place in summer or autumn 273. In that case the twelfth celebration would have fallen in 317. Expenditure made towards them in autumn 316 would have been for preparations, cf. 13-15 n.

9 It had been thought that the ταμίας πολιτικῶν χρημάτων had disappeared at the introduction of the curator (λογιστής), now known to have been as early as 303, see LIV p. 222, and that he had been replaced by a τραπεζίτης π. χ., see A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils* 44-5, but this ταμίας was functioning at least till late in 316, see 3-4 n. This might have suggested that the ταμίας played a supervisory role, while the τραπεζίτης handled the funds, but in fact it seems that here Nicobulus could equally well have been given the title of τραπεζίτης, because it is virtually certain that he has already occurred in the closely contemporary I 84 (= Sel. Pap. II 374 = W. Chr. 197) of 1 November 316, printed as Αὐρηλίου Ἀγαθοβούλου Ἀλεξάνδρου δημοσίων λη[μ]μάτων τραπεζίτου Ὁξ(υρ)γ(χίτου) πολιτικῆς τραπεζῆς (7-10). The papyrus is now in the British Library, inv. 759; a microfilm allows Νεικόβουλου and also χρημάτων in place of λη[μ]μάτων. It shows τρα= τραπεζίτου clearly. Since the date of 84, Hathyr 5 = 1 November 316, is within the period mentioned here in 3-4, Hathyr to Choecac 316, it appears that ταμίας, the older title, continued to be used alongside τραπεζίτης without any distinction that we can now grasp.

A separate minor correction to 84 can also be made from the microfilm: in 6-7, instead of (διὰ ...) μηνιάρχου ἀπὸ τῶν [ἀντ(ῶν)]. ἡρέθμημε κτλ., read μηνιάρχου. ἀπέχρον [καί] ἡρέθμημε (= -ημα), cf. e.g. XII 1430.

9 πολε(τι)κ(ῶν). On the form of the abbreviation πολε^ε, in which the raised letter is not the next in the word, but rather a characteristic more distant letter, see W. Gdz. XLI §(c). He quotes early examples, but the type is much more common from the fifth century on.

10 προ... This remains a puzzle. The tense of γεγενῆσθαι seems to indicate clearly that it is parallel to ἀνακεχ(ωρηκέναι), so that the phrase should mean, 'but (or more likely "and") ... has gone abroad', i.e. away from Oxyrhynchus. The oblique stroke shows that the word is abbreviated. We expect an adverb or possibly a participle agreeing with Νεικόβουλον. One idea might be προγρ(αφέντα), 'having been proscribed', and this might be just possible, but the traces are not particularly encouraging.

10-12 μετὰ τὰ ἐπινοηθέντα ... (τάλαντα) υκζ (δηρία) φ. On the sense of μετὰ here, 'in addition to', see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* 368 (= *TAPA* 92 (1961) 562) para. 2. It seems that μετὰ τὰ is to be understood with special reference to the introductory καί in line 3, meaning that this and the contribution of the councillors had also been expended previously. But presumably these sums had been accounted for; otherwise, all the items could simply have been listed or linked with καί, for instance.

The abrasion and the abbreviation have obscured the exact wording, but the general meaning seems to be that the sum of 427 talents 500 denarii had been budgeted for expenditure on the games, possibly from the general city fund, together with a sum contributed by the councillors.

12-13 The juxtaposition of the two sums seems ambiguous. I take it that the target was 100 talents. If 60 talents had been spent from the accumulated 100, the wording would probably have been 'from 100 ...' etc. Perhaps, therefore, the collection had only reached 60 talents, or had only reached 60 talents at that date, and perhaps that is what γενομένην is meant to imply. The placing of μόνων indicates that it goes with the preceding sum, not with the succeeding.

It is not clear whether the contribution of the councillors was a normal feature of the funding of the games or a special measure for the unusual circumstances. On the council's financial interest in public entertainment see A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils* 96.

13-15 The sum and the reference to the standing order and the custom are interesting in comparison with the entry in P. Harris I 97.11 ἐπαρ() Καπιτωλιακ() ἀγών() (τάλαντα) ριε. That document is probably from Oxyrhynchus, see P. Harr. I p. v, and is assigned to the fourth century, probably correctly; the late third is also possible. Suggested corrections recorded in BL III 81 are ἀπαρ(χίς)—U. Wilcken, *ἑπαμ(τητή) vel sim. Καπιτωλιακ(ῶν) ἀγών(ων)*—H. I. Bell, *ἐπάθ(λοικ) Καπιτωλιακ(οῦ) ἀγών(ος)*—K. F. W. Schmidt. A photograph of the papyrus seems indeed to favour ἐπαθ^θ, although there is some abrasion which makes it uncertain. If this is correct, that sum was routinely expended for prizes in the Capitoline games of Oxyrhynchus in this period. If the prizes in question were metal crowns, for which see L. Robert, *CRAI* 1982. 229-30 and n. 5,

N. Duval in C. Landes (ed.), *Le cirque et les courses de chars* 135-146, esp. 140-1, it is perhaps understandable that the money had to be expended in advance so that the craftsmen could be set to work, cf. 4352⁵ ii 39n.

4358. OFFICIAL LETTER TO A PRAEPOSITUS PAGI

No inv. no.

9.5 × 12.5 cm

c. 316-318

This letter is almost certainly directed to a *praepositus pagi* already known from XVII 2113, 2114, 2124, and XIX 2232, all of 316, from XII 1425 of 318, and probably from the undated letter XII 1424. On this small archive see P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 74 (1994) 33-6.

The top is lost and with it the name of the sender or senders. The foot is also lost, so that only a preliminary sentence survives. This reminds the *praepositus* that a command had been given by Aurelius Gregorius, procurator of the Heptanomia, ordering that great quantities of army rations be stockpiled at the Nile harbours so that there should be no delay in shipping them to Alexandria. In the lost part of the letter he was no doubt instructed to take some action in connection with this enterprise, cf. especially 2114 11-16.

It may possibly be that this need for 'great quantities of army rations', πλείστα ἀννώνας, is connected with the war of 316/7 between Constantine and Licinius, according to the chronology advocated by T. D. Barnes, *JRS* 63 (1973) 36-8, cf. idem *GRBS* 19 (1978) 101, *The New Empire* 73, 82, and most recently H. A. Pohlsander, *The Ancient World* 26.1 (1995) 89-101. It is a great pity that the exact date is not preserved.

A sheet-join running vertically about 5 cm from the left edge shows that the writing runs along the fibres of the recto of the original roll. The back is blank.

Αὐρηλίω Ἡρ[ᾶ] πραι(ποσίτω) ἡ'] πάγου

τῷ φιλτά[τ]ω χαίρειν.

δι' ὧν εἰς καινὸν ἡμῖν ἔγρα-

ψεν ἡ ἐμμέλια τοῦ κυρίου

5 μου ἐπιτρόπου τῆς Ἐπτα-

νομίας Αὐρηλίου Γρηγορίου

ἐκέλευεν πλίστα ἀν-

νώνας ἀποτεθῆναι

ἐν τοῖς ἐπινοίσις ὄρμοις

10 πρὸς τὸ τῶν πλοίων

προσορμησάντων μη-

δεμίαν ἐποχήν γενέσθαι

πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἐμβολήν
διὰ τὸ προστε[τ]ᾶσθαι εἰς τὴν
15 Ἀλεξάνδρ[ειαν] κατακομι-

4 l. ἐμμέλεια 7 l. πλείστα 9 l. ἐπιλείοις

'... to Aurelius Heras, *praepositus* of the 8th *pagus*, (his?) dearest colleague, greetings. In instructions which his Excellency Aurelius Gregorius, procurator of the Heptanomia, has written to us anew he ordered large quantities of army rations to be deposited in the shipping anchorages, so that when the ships have anchored no delay shall affect the lading of these goods, because it has been commanded (that they? should be?) conveyed down to Alexandria ...'

¹ The restoration of the name and office derive especially from **2114**, where the letter begins with the very similar wording δι' ὧν ἔγραψεν ἡ ἐμμέλεια τοῦ κυρίου μου ἐπιτρόπου τῆς Ἑπτανομίας Αὐρηλίου Γρηγορίου ἐκέλευεν.

³ εἰς καινόν. A search of the Duke data bank produced only BGU VIII 1801.3 (Heracleopolis, I BC) and **2113** 6-7, a text also addressing our *praepositus*.

⁴ ἡμῶν. **2113** and **2114** suggest that the sender was the strategus. If so, 'us' probably means 'you and me'.

⁴⁻⁶ Aurelius Gregorius, *procurator Heptanomiae*, is known only from **2114** of 316, see R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata* 210, cf. id. *CRIPEL* 10 (1988) 127-8 No. 38. Two other holders of the same post are known, Annius Diogenes of 298/9-302 and Valerius Sarapodorus of 311, see Delmaire, *Largesses* 210, *CRIPEL* *ibid.* 126 No. 33, 127 No. 36. Very little is known of the functions of the post, see XLII **3031** introd.

4359. FRAGMENT OF DEED OF PURCHASE

31 4B.13/D(1)a

26 × 10 cm

16 August 324

The buyer here was a soldier of the *legio VI Ferrata*, a member of a detachment commanded by a *praepositus* and stationed at Syene. It is not clear whether in this period the main body of the legion remained in Syria Palaestina, cf. F. Millar, *The Roman Near East* 377, or might have been transferred to the southern Arabian frontier at Udruh, cf. S. T. Parker, *Romans and Saracens* 98, 137-43.

It should also be mentioned that a vexillation drawn from the two legions of Syria Phoenice, III Gallica and I Illyrica (*Illyricorum*, Not. Dig. XXXII 30), was in Egypt near this date, see F. Millar, *The Roman Near East* 183, referring to ILS II.2 No. 8882 = A. Bernand, *Les Portes du Désert* 252-4, No. 91, said to be from Coptos, dated 9 June 316 by the Seleucid era year 627 = AD 315/6, and to SB I 4223 = J. G. Milne, *Greek Inscriptions (Catalogue Général ... du Musée du Caire)* 45 No. 9238, from Syene, dated by the consuls of AD 321 (26 May; see R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 177 and esp. 628 for the correct date). These legionary vexillations may have been involved in military preparations for the coming clash between Licinius and Constantine.

This is the latest dated and certain mention of *VI Ferrata*, which did not survive to be listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, cf. RE XII 1594, A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman*

Empire i 57, Parker, locc. cit. The date of this document seems to invite the speculation that, as part of the forcès of Licinius, the legion was lost or disbanded as a result of Constantine's victory at Chrysopolis in September 324, but of course this must be uncertain since the *Notitia* belongs to the late fourth or early fifth century, and there is a possible contrary indication: PSI IX 1077 of 354 or 355 seems to mention soldiers of a sixth legion, which might have been *VI Ferrata*, stationed under a *praepositus* at Lycopolis: στρατιῶται ἕκ{κ}της λεγιῶνος τῶν ἐν Λύκων διακμμένων ὑπὸ Ταύρον πραιπόσιτον (5-6). A photograph shows that εκκ is certain, and the gemination of kappa is fairly well attested in ἕκτος and ἐκτός, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 160-161, so that, although the end of the word is very cursorily written, this interpretation seems the most likely. If this was a mention of *VI Ferrata*, it must have survived even longer, perhaps till Adrianople (378).

The detachment mentioned in **4359** has left no identifiable trace in the inscriptions of Syene in A. Bernand, *De Thèbes à Syène* 169-182, Nos. 223-239, but a soldier of the legion died in the camp at Alexandria and his tombstone is recorded in SB I 4276 = IGR I 1089, Οὐαλ(έριον) Φλάουιον|στρατιώτην λεγ(εῶνος) 5' Cιδηρ(ᾶς)|στιπενδίων ις', ἐτῶν|δὲ λέ' κτλ (see below, 4-5 n.). The *nomen* Valerius, as the dynastic name of Diocletian and his branch of the tetrarchy, became a status indication for soldiers and imperial civil servants in the late third century and especially in the early fourth up to the defeat of Licinius by Constantine, who brought in Flavius to replace it, see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 44-6, 49; id. 13 (1974) 290-1, 294, 297, 302, B. Salway, *JRS* 84 (1994) 138-9, cf. for striking examples in muster rolls of the period P. Mich. X 592-3 introd. p. 55, and here line 4. The combination of the *nomen* Valerius with Flavius misused as a *cognomen* is well suited to be contemporaneous with this papyrus.

The text describes itself as a *diploma* (3). This word originally meant a document drafted in two copies one above the other on the same sheet sealed in such a way as to conceal and protect the top copy while leaving the lower one available for routine use. Such documents were traditionally set out to be read with the roll opening in the vertical direction instead of being held in the classical horizontal position, see E. G. Turner, *Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16) 26-53, esp. 37-9, cf. N. Lewis, in P. Yadin pp. 10-11. This seems to have been the case here too, since the writing runs across the fibres, although no sheet join survives to prove that the writing is on the recto. The back is blank.

The document breaks off before we learn what was purchased. The seller and his guarantor were from Syedra in the unruly and piratical district of Isauria (Cilicia), which may perhaps reinforce a suspicion that the object was a slave, as suggested by the legal phraseology, see 7-9 n.

τοῖς τὸ τέταρτον ἐσομένοις ὑπάτοις, [πρὸ δεκαεπτὰ Καλανδῶν
Σεπτεμβρίων,

ἥτις ἐστὶν Με[co]ρῆ τρίτη καὶ εἰκάδι ἐν [...]. [...] [c. 15 letters].
 ἀγαθῆ τύχη.
 ἐπρίατο καὶ κατεγράφη διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ διπλώματος ἐν τε νομῆ καὶ
 δεσποτεία παρείληφεν
 Οὐαλέριος Πρίσκος, στρατιώτης λεγεῶνος ἕκτης Cιδηρᾶς τῶν ὑπὸ
 Οὐαλεριανὸν
 5 πραιπόσιτον διακειμένων ἐν Cυήνῃ τῆς Θηβαΐδος, παρὰ Αὐρηλίου
 Λογγεῖνου
 υἱοῦ Ναροῦ Cυεδρέως τῆς Ἰσαυρίας οἰκοῦντος ἐγγίστα Ματιδίου θείου
 αὐτοῦ
 καὶ Κόνωνος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις, μετὰ συμβεβαιωτοῦ ἀναδεχομένου τὴν
 καθαρο—
 ποίησιν τῆςδε τῆς καταγραφῆς καὶ τῆ ἰδία πίστει εἶναι κελεύοντος καὶ
 ἐντελλο—
 μένου Αὐρηλ[ίο]υ [...] ιδέου Γο[ρ]γονίου κ[αί] αὐτοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς Cυεδρέων
 πόλεως
 10 οἰκοῦντος .ντ. [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] Λογγεῖνω ὁμολογοῦντος
 καὶ

2 1. τρίτη καὶ εἰκάς 4 ὑπο 5 θηβαΐδος, λογ'γεινω?: 1. Λογγίνω 6 υἱοῦ, ἰσαυρίας; 1. ἐγγίστα
 7 ἰδίοις 8 ἴδια 10 λογ'γεινω?: 1. Λογγίνω

'Under the consuls to be for the fourth time, on the seventeenth day before the Calends of September, which is Mesore twenty-third, in ... For Good Fortune.'

Valerius Priscus, soldier of the *legio VI Ferrata*, one of those stationed at Syene in the Thebaid under Valerianus *praepositus*, bought and had conveyed to himself through this diploma and accepted delivery with possession and legal entitlement from Aurelius Longinus son of Narus, of Syedra in Isauria, residing with Matidius his uncle and Conon, on their own premises, with as joint guarantor, undertaking the proper performance of this conveyance and on his own responsibility ordering and mandating it to exist, Aurelius Paedeas(?) son of Gorgonius, himself also of the same city of Syedrians, residing ... acknowledging to Longinus and ...'

1 For the anonymous formula, reflecting the division between Constantine and Licinius, see R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 179 note.

For the restoration of the Roman date and the conversion of it to 16 August see line 2 and R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 101.

2 ἥτις ἐστὶν ... τρίτη καὶ εἰκάδι. ἥτις ἐστὶν should be followed by the nominative, but the dative is the most usual case for the day number and the error is venial, especially since *τρίτη* and *τρίτη* are indistinguishable in the absence of iota adscript, which is normal. Perhaps we should write 'τρίτη καὶ εἰκάδι' in the text and only '1. εἰκάς' in the apparatus.

ἐν κτλ. The place was presumably in Egypt, since the buyer was stationed there, but the restoration is by no means certain, see below.

ἀγαθῆ τύχη. The prayer to Good Fortune is rare in papyrus contracts. Items containing it are chiefly

marriage contracts: BGU VI 1283.7 (216/5 BC), X 1273 1 (AD 260), XLIX 3500 1 (III AD)—all three Oxyrhynchite, P. Dura 30.5 (AD 232; Qatna(?), Syria), P. Vind. Bosw. 5.1 (AD 305; Hermopolite). P. Select 22.1 (II AD) shows it in a work contract and SB X 10562.5 (AD 146–61) in an affidavit, both Oxyrhynchite. The predominance of Oxyrhynchite documents as well as the provenance of this one may suggest that some abbreviated form of the name of Oxyrhynchus should be restored here, e.g. ἐν [τῆ λα]μ[ι]([πρᾶ]) κα[ι] [λαμ(προτάτη) 'Οξ(υρνηχιδῶν) πόλει], although a trace of the xi at least might have been expected to be visible. It is unlikely to have been Syene, because then we should have had ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Cυήνῃ in line 5.

3 κατεγράφη. See LSJ s.v. *καταγράφω* II.4 for the sense 'have conveyed to oneself'; cf. s.v. *καταγραφή* III. See H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* ii 197–221 for the *καταγραφή*, registration of property, in Roman times. However it is not quite certain that this is relevant. The Latin glossaries give *mancipatio*, *mancipare* as equivalents of *καταγραφή*, *καταγράψω*, see G. Goetz, *CGL* VII index s.v., and it is possible that an echo of Latin formulas is to be expected here, see below.

διπλώματος. See introd. para. 5.

ἐν τε νομῆ καὶ δεσποτεία. This Greek reflects the Roman legal distinction between *possessio*, 'factual holding of a thing', and *dominium*, 'legal power over a thing', see A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* s.v. (pp. 441, 636–7), R. Taubenschlag, *Law*² 231. Cf. 8 n.

4 Οὐαλέριος. Cf. introd. para. 4.

Πρίσκος. The fact that Prisca was the name of Diocletian's wife (PLRE i 726) might have influenced the *nom de guerre* of this soldier.

λεγεῶνος κτλ. Cf. introd.

4–5 Οὐαλεριανὸν πραιπόσιτον. The name is too common for identification to be possible, cf. I 43 recto v 16, 19 (AD 295), P. Beatty Panop. 2.301 (AD 300), I 60 8–9 (AD 323). The last was in command of troops at Nicopolis, the camp town outside Alexandria. The date and the legionary tombstone mentioned above, introd. para. 4, might allow a possibility of identification, but it would be remote. The end of IGR I 1089 is given as *ὄντα ἀπ' Ὀκγον Α[μ]μ[ών] (ι)ος Ὀρίου Διοκαισαράς*. See E. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie* (Répertoire bibliographique des IGRR) 26 for the literature. The facsimile published by E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* (1911) 179 No. 364 and reproduced by J. Zingerle, *Klio* 21 (1927) 421 perhaps allows the interpretation *ὄντα ἀπὸ κ(ώμης) Οὐλλ[α]μ[ών]* (or better maybe *Οὐλαμ[ών]*; the Latin version is *Ulama*) *ὄριου Διοκα(ι)σαράς* (= *Διοκαισαρείας*, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 194 (a for ai), 302–3 §§ 1, 4; loss of iota before a back vowel), 'being from the village of Ul(l)ama in the territory of Diocaesarea', cf. Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (ed. E. Klostermann) p. 140 line 17 *ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Οὐλλαμὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σημεῖων Διοκαισαρείας*. Lambda rather than alpha in *Οὐλα-* is greatly favoured by the facsimile. The oblique stroke which remains from the next letter might represent either alpha or lambda. The lost chip of stone at the right edge might have contained another letter (-λλ[α]μ[ών]), but need not have done. Admittedly, however, it is not easy to see from the facsimile how κ(ώμης) might have been abbreviated. At that point it seems to show *KI*, with the following omicron tucked under the horizontal of the seeming gamma.

Note that this Diocaesarea (Sepphoris) was the district capital of an area immediately north of *Legio*, where *VI Ferrata* was stationed, cf. Y. Tsafir etc., *Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea/Palaestina* 170 (*Legio*), 227 (*Sepphoris*), 253 (*Ulama*). The dead soldier had served for sixteen years and may be presumed to have enlisted while the legion was still at *Legio*. If the tombstone is of the early fourth century, as I have suggested above (introd. para. 4), the legion must have remained at its known base till some time in the reign of Diocletian.

5 Λογγεῖνου. Longinus seems to have been a popular name in Cilicia/Isauria, cf. the brother of the emperor Zeno, exiled to the Thebaid by Anastasius, and Longinus of Selinus, who carried on a revolt against Anastasius till 498, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 230. For more see R. W. Burgess, *Latomus* 51.4 (1992) 874–880, esp. the lists on pp. 877–8.

6 υἱοῦ. It is probably not significant that this is not repeated before the father's name below in 9.

Ναροῦ (or *Νάρου*). This is not recorded in W. Pape, G. E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* Vols. i, ii, or L. Robert, *Noms indigènes*. Presumably it is a name linked with the locality of Syedra in Cilicia/Isauria, while the *Ναροῦ* (gen.) in P. Wash. Univ. I 18.40 is probably related to other Egyptian names such as *Νααραῦς*, *Ναραοῦς* etc.

Cυεδρέως τῆς Ἰσαυρίας. Cf. R. Stilwell, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* 871, A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*² 213 (map III B opp. p. 191).

F. Hild, H. Hellenkemper, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 5: *Kilikien und Isaurien* i 17, exclude Syedra from Isauria, diocese of Oriens (O. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum*, Or. XXII, pp. 48–9), and attribute it to Pamphylia, diocese

of Asia (ib. Or. XXIV, pp. 52–3). This document's attribution of it to Isauria is probably to be accepted for this period, although it is clear that it was liable to change administration from time to time. Hild and Hellenkemper also describe the uncertain run of the provincial and diocesan boundary north of Syedra.

Ματιδίου. Cf. perhaps Ἀρ(ηλίαν) Τρεβημιανήν Ματειδίου γυναῖκα εὐγενίδα καὶ σόφρονα from Laerte in Cilicia, close to Syedra (REG 85 (1972) 493 No. 507=G. E. Bean, T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968*, No. 87; cf. Map B). Trajan died at Selinus in Cilicia, but I cannot find that the names of himself or of his female relations were specially popular in the area, cf. M. Boatwright, 'Imperial Women of the Early Second Century A.C.', *AJP* 112 (1991) 513–40; 'Matidia the Younger', *Classical Views* 11.1 (1992) 19–32.

7 Κόνωνος. The way this name is tacked on without any qualification is odd. I considered whether it might be a garbled version of κοινωνοῦ or κοινωνῶν, but Κόνων is a name attested from Syedra and from the region in general, cf. R. Heberdey, A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien* 143, No. 238, Κόνων Συεδρεὺς νεικήσας παίδων πνευμῆν, L. Robert, *Noms indigènes* 426 n. 4, 527 n. 9 ('épichorique'), Bean and Mitford, op. cit. p. 243 (index). For more see R. W. Burgess, *Latomus* 51.4 (1992) 874–880, esp. the lists on pp. 877–8.

ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις. This should mean 'on his own premises', cf. 4394 17–19 n., but the previous phrase implies that the premises belonged to Matidius and Conon, so presumably they belonged jointly to all three.

7–9 μετὰ συμβεβαιωτοῦ ... ἐντελλομένου. This sort of wording is found particularly in slave-sales of this period, such as P. Köln V 232; for parallels see esp. the note to line 2 there, pp. 266–7.

καθαροποίησιν. This noun and its cognate καθαροποιεῖν have not hitherto appeared in the papyri from Egypt before the sixth century, but the verb does appear in P. Yadin 20.15 = 38; 22.20 (both AD 130), P. Dura 25.10, 32 (AD 180), and 26.24 (AD 227). A related phrase is used in P. Avroman 1 of the first century BC, see E. H. Minns, *JHS* 35 (1915) 28–9; A 21–3 = B 22–3 (δὲ ἄν ... μὴ καθαρὰ ποιήσῃ, ἔσται ἄκυρος). Professor Lewis suggests that it is the translation of a Semitic term, see P. Yadin p. 16.

8 καταγραφῆς. Cf. 3 n.

τῇ ἰδία πίστει εἶναι κελεύοντος καὶ ἐντελλομένου. This reflects the Latin formula of the *fideiussor*: *fide mea esse iubeo*, cf. A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* 350 s.v. *adpromissio*, P. Köln V 232.2 n. (pp. 266–7). The addition of ἐντελλομένου seems to imply, since ἐντέλλεσθαι is the translation of Latin *mandare*, that by a legal fiction the guarantor mandates the principal's action and so creates a liability against himself, cf. 4394 25–6 n. Cf. P. Abinn. 64.24–5 τῇ ἐμῇ πίστει (= -ει) καὶ ἐντολῇ.

9 [.] ἰδέου. If the doubtful iota is correct, the only suitable name supplied by E. Dornseiff, B. Hanson, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* is Παιδέας, and [II]αἰδέου would suit.

Γο[ρ]γονίου. Robert, op. cit. 159–60, says that names from the root γοργ- are common across the whole Greek world and have no local connotations.

10 γτ. [.] κτλ. We expect either ἐγγιστα (= ἐγγ-) τοῦ δεινα or ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις, cf. above 6, 7, but the remains are intractable. One possibility is that the clerk wrote at least as far as ἐν το- and had to correct το to γτ.

4360. DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE PURCHASE OF A DONKEY

32 4B.4/A(3–4)a

18.5 × 14.5 cm

c. 295–325

A new *procurator priuatae Thebaidos*, named Valerius Poemenius, appears in this damaged document, see 1–2 n. A member of his staff, Valerius Heracles, described as a landowner in the Hermopolite nome, writes to a man from Oxyrhynchus already known as a dealer in livestock, see 2–3 n., whose purchase of a donkey from an inhabitant of Panopolis is given as the motive for the present document. The κυρία-clause partly surviving in line 15 shows that it had the force of a contract, but the severe damage makes the situation hard to understand; for some tentative suggestions see 11 n., 13–14 n. In spite of the official position of the writer, the additional description of him as a landowner suggests that the transaction is private, and indeed the writer would

have had no official authority in the Oxyrhynchite nome, which was on the northern border of the Thebaid, but outside it.

On donkey sales and prices see the updated bibliography by R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 96 (1993) 126.

The back is blank.

Οὐαλέριος Ἡρακλῆς ὀφικιάλιος Οὐαλερίου Ποιμενίου ἐπιτρόπου
πριουάτης Θεβαΐδος γεουχῶν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ Ἑρμοπολίτῃ Ἀὐρηλίῳ
Ἀπολλωνίου Σαραπίωνος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)
᾽Οξυρυχιτῶν

πόλεως χαίρειν. ἐπιθῆ τῇ χθὲς ἐώνησαι παρὰ Βησᾶ Ἴερακος
5 μητρὸς Ταϊέρακος ἀπὸ Πανὸς πόλεως ὄνον ἄρρενα μελανόχροον τέλειον
cφραγίδα ἔχοντα ἐπὶ [το]ῦ δεξιοῦ μηροῦ [. . .] κων
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς [. ἀκο]λοῦθως [τῇ εἰς σὲ γεγονυῖα κ]αταγραφῇ,
ἔγγων δὲ τοῦτον [.] ναὶ καὶ [. . . c. 15 letters].
κα]ταβληθείς[η [. . . c. 12 letters] . . [c. 20 letters].
10 [. . .] του πεπρακ[η [. . . c. 40 letters
... συ . . . ἔχειν [. . . c. 40 letters
δ[η . . .] τῷ κύνολον ε[. . . c. 38 letters
... . . .] ὄμενον ὑ[. . . c. 38 letters
... . . .] τησωπαρ[η [. . . c. 38 letters
15] κύρια τὰ γρ[άμματα . . . c. 30 letters
... . . .] α[. . . c. 38 letters
... . . .] . [. . . c. 38 letters

1 I. ὀφικιάλιος 2 θεβαΐδος 3 I. Ἀπολλωνίω; λαμ^σ (bis) 4 I. ἐπειδῆ; ἱερακος
5 ταϊέρακος

'Valerius Heracles member of the staff of Valerius Poemenius *procurator priuatae* of the Thebaid, landowner in the Great Hermopolite nome, to Aurelius Apollonius son of Sarapion from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. Whereas yesterday you bought from Besas son of Hierax, mother Tahierax, from Panopolis, a black adult male donkey which has a brand on the right thigh ... on the left ... in accordance with the deed of conveyance (made in your favour?), and I learned that this ...'

'The document is binding ...'

1 Οὐαλέριος, Οὐαλερίου. See 4359 introd. para 4 for Valerius as a status indication at the end of the third century and up to about 325.

1–2 Valerius Poemenius is new. Only two other holders of the office of *procurator priuatae Thebaidos* are known: Valerius Melas of 298 in P. Panop. Beatty 1.365, 369, 401–2, and [ν]ό[ς] of 301–2 in P. Lond. inv. 1271, published in P. Panop. Beatty pp. 156–7, cf. R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata* 209, id., *CRIPEL* 10 (1988) 113–138, esp. 128. The office cannot have existed before the Thebaid was created a separate

province under a *praeses*, which is attested by February 295, see P. Panop. Beatty *Introd.* pp. xv–xix. This gives approximately the earliest possible date for 4360. Valerius begins to disappear as a status designation soon after Constantine's victory in September 324, which indicates approximately the latest possible date. See 2–3 n. for some dates relating to the addressee.

2 γεουχών. Cf. *introd.*

μεγάλω Ἑρμοπολίτη. The adjective suggests a distinction between this Hermopolis, neighbour of Oxyrhynchus on the south, and other places of the same name, especially Hermopolis Parva in the Mendesian nome, but there was no other Hermopolite nome.

2–3 Aurelius Sarapion son of Apollonius is known already as a buyer and seller of animals, see XLIII 3143 *introd.*, referring to 3143 (305), P. Cornell 13 (311?; see J. D. Thomas, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 181–2; H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 22 (1976) 46 n. 13), 3144 (313), and 3145 (s.d.). This date range suits the deduction made from the appearance of the *nomēn* Valerius, see 1, 1–2 nn.

3 λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης). On the honorific titles of Oxyrhynchus see especially D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 281–292.

6–7 This passage probably specifies another brand or identifying mark on the donkey and might well begin with κ[αί]. After ἐπὶ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς a likely word is ζ[ι]αγόνος, 'on the left jaw', see most conveniently the list of camel brands in P. Vindob. Worp. opp. p. 92.

7 [τῆ] εἰς ἐὲ γεγονυῖα κ[α]ταγραφῆ. Cf. P. Cair. Preisigke 43.27–8 ἀκολούθως τῆ εἰς αὐτὸν γεγονυῖα κατ[α]γραφῆ. For καταγραφῆ, 'deed of conveyance', cf. 4359 3 n.

8 ἔγγων δὲ τοῦτον (or τοῦτο ν) .[.] ναί. This is still governed by ἐπ(ε)ιδή (4), 'Whereas you bought . . . , and I learned that this (donkey?) . . .'

9 κα[ταβληθείς]. [is a reference to the payment of the price, probably in the genitive (κα[ταβληθείς] της [τιμῆς]), but the sense is not very clear.

11 A possible reading is πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχειν .[.], although the traces at the beginning are small and the putative ὑμᾶς has been corrected in a way which is not understood. This could refer to possible claims against the buyer and seller, cf. F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v. ἔχω (14), or to a waiver of claims: ὁμολογῶ . . . οὐδένα λόγον? πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχειν.

13–14 The remains of these two lines evoke a formula of guarantee used by sellers of animals among others. Its wording varies somewhat but here we could think of restoring something like καὶ τὸν ἐπελευ[ρόμενον] ἔ[μ]ιν ἢ ἐμπονηρόμενον τοῦτου χάριν (om. ἢ μέρους αὐτοῦ? cf. 3143 19) ἐπάναγκες ἀποσ[τή]σω παρα[χρή]μα ταῖς ἐμμαντοῦ δαπάναις καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης, cf. 3145 19–24. One problem here is that the principal person, Valerius Heracles, is not the seller. We might imagine that the guarantee of the seller, from Panopolis in the Thebaid, was not deemed sufficient by the Oxyrhynchite buyer, who wanted it to be backed by a separate guarantee from this official person from the Thebaid. However, no parallel case has yet been identified, and this theory would not explain satisfactorily why both parties to the sale seem to be treated jointly in lines 11 (ὑμᾶς?) and 13 (ἔ[μ]ιν?).

15 κύρια τὰ γρ[άμματα]. The remains of the doubtful letters match those in κ[α]ταγραφῆ (7) very well. This suggests that the document has some contractual element in it, see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* ii 145–6, which suits, without proving, the suggestion made in the previous note.

4361. PRIVATE LETTER: POEMENIUS TO EUDAEMON

70/19(b)

10 × 11.5 cm

Third/fourth century

This fragment from the top of a private letter has an unusual interest because it mentions an *officium* unique in the papyri, a τάξε[ι]ως κογνιτιώνων, which must be connected with a function normally that of a palatine post and may therefore imply the presence of an emperor in Egypt at the time, see 4 n. The writer is called Poemenius, and although there is no good reason to think that he is the same as the Valerius Poemenius of 4360, see 2 n., the piece is published at this place because of the possibility that he might be.

The writer requests the recipient to give every assistance to a member of this *officium* seemingly in Heracleopolis. It is not clear why the document was discarded in Oxyrhynchus. Perhaps the recipient was known to be leaving soon for Heracleopolis, or perhaps someone brought it back from Heracleopolis, or perhaps it came to Oxyrhynchus only when it was cut down to take on the back a short informal business note, published below as 4362.

The hand is a good sloping late third or early fourth century cursive written along the fibres of the recto, as is proved by a sheet join running vertically about 3 cm from the right edge.

κυρί]ω μου (vac.) ἀδελφῶ (vac.) Εὐδαίμονι

]Ποιμένιος (vac.) χαίρειν.

Χαιρ]ήμονα τὸν ὀφικιάλιον τῆς

τάξε]ως τῶν κογνιτιώνων ἀπε–

5 . . .] . α ἐν τῇ Ἑρακλέους χάριν ἀναγ–

καί]ας μου χρειᾶς. τὰ νῦν οὖν πᾶν

ποι]ήσης συνάρασθαι αὐτῶ εἰς ὃ ἐ–

άν] . [

3 1. ὀφικιάλιον 5 αναγ'

'To my lord brother Eudaemon, Poemenius, greetings. I . . . Chaeremon(?), officer of the staff of the (imperial) lawcourts, in Heracleopolis because of necessary business of my own. For now, therefore, do all you can to assist him in whatever . . .'

2 The name Poemenius is rare enough to allow us to envisage the possibility that this is the *procurator priuatae Thebaidos* of 4360, especially since it appears in connection with another *officialis*, but there are no contacts with the Thebaid visible here, the only geographical indication pointing north to Heracleopolis (5). A better possibility might be the Poemenius who in AD 325 acted as advocate (βήτωρ) in cases before the *curator* of Oxyrhynchus, see LIV 3758 184, 197, 205, 3759 2, 5, 13, 21, 33. He was also a notary (ταβελλίον, 3758 197).

3 Χαιρ]ήμονα. The traces favour this above Εὐδαίμονα, which is the only other likely possibility, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 65 (f): 'Most *n*-stem names . . . are declined -ωνος, -ωνι, -ωνα, with only occasional variant spellings in -ονος, -ονι, -ονα. But Εὐδαίμων and Χαιρήμων are usually declined -ονος, -ονι, -ονα, with occasional variants in -ωνος, etc.'. Phonetic error seems unlikely, to judge by the hand and the extant text.

4 κογνιτιώνων. On the palatine office of *procurator a cognitionibus* see RE IV 220–22. In this late period the title became *magister sacrarum cognitionum*, cf. A. H. M. Jones etc., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* i 984 (Urbicus 3). We expect such an official to be found only in the *comitatus* of an emperor. If that is the case, known possible occasions could be the visit of Galerius to Egypt in 293(–5?), see T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire* 62, cf. *JCS* 28 (1985) 107, or those of Diocletian in 297–8 and 301–2, see Barnes, *op. cit.* 54–5.

There is also the possibility that at this time the function of hearing imperial suits had been delegated to a subordinate, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 479, ii 1204 n. 19 end. The cases he cites are those of L. Aelius Helvius Dionysius (PLRE I 260: Dionysius 12; ILS i 1211) and T. Fl. Postumius Titianus (PLRE I 919–20: Titianus 9; ILS i 2941). Dionysius had the title of *iudex sacrarum cognitionum totius Orientis* at some time before he became *praefectus Urbi* for AD 301–2. Jones, LRE i 479, takes it that he held this post of

index concurrently with the praesidate of Syria, which is not at all clear from the inscription. Nor is it clear whether in that event there would have been an *officium* separate from the governor's own. But there is some possibility that Dionysius was the head of the *τάξις τῶν κογιτιῶνων* mentioned here. In the other case Titianus, who was consul in 301, is described in part of his cursus inscription as *corrector Italiae Transpadanae cognoscenti uice sacra*, and it seems clear that he took as *corrector* cases that would normally have been heard before the emperor. It is a curious coincidence that this inscription was set up by a client called T. Aelius Poemenius, but the career is purely a Western one and there is no likelihood that our Poemenius was the same.

4-5 ἀπε[...].α. The trace is a ligature joining the beginning of the loop of alpha; δ, ε, θ, λ, μ?, π, ς, υ, ψ. Perhaps ἀπέ[λει]ψα, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 291-2, would make a suitable sense, 'I left Chaeremon ... behind in Heracleopolis'. Since Chaeremon is employed in such high circles, it may be more likely that Poemenius left Heracleopolis in order to attend to his own business than that he left Chaeremon to look after his business for him in Heracleopolis, but the interpretation is not certain.

4362. BUSINESS LETTER: SARAPION TO ARCADIUS

70/19(b)

11.5 × 10 cm

Third/fourth century

This short note stands on the back of **4361**, which was cut down specially to receive it. The sheet join visible in **4361** shows that this side is the verso. The lines run along the fibres, upwards with respect to the other text.

The letter is complete on all sides, but there is serious damage by abrasion which makes the readings uncertain, especially in lines 3-4. Sarapion writes to Arcadius telling him to accept delivery of a foal and to take some measures in relation to it, probably with a view to its training. It is fairly certain that a new word, *εὐβαδής*, perhaps meaning 'easy-paced', occurs in line 4, see n. The persons are not the same as any of those mentioned in **4361**.

Σαραπίων Ἀρκαδίῳ χ(αίρειν).

τὸν πῶλον ὑποδέξαι

καὶ ετηθῆ ποταῖ

. ται εὐβαδῆς

5 γενέσθαι.

(m. 2?) ἔρρωσο.

1 χῆ?

'Sarapion to Arcadius, greetings. Take delivery of the foal and (have it attended to <to discover> whether it can?) be made easy-paced (?).'
(2nd hand?) 'Farewell.'

1 Ἀρκαδίῳ. This person might possibly be the same as the *exceptor* mentioned in VIII **1139**, an order to deliver written on the back of a fragment of an account which contains a date in AD 322. That Arcadius was to receive one *ταγή* of vegetables and this rare Greek word can be associated with allowances of fodder for horses, see **1139** 3 n. This might be relevant here, but the word is not inevitably used in that way and *λάχανα* are not what first comes to mind as horse feed, although it is so vague a word that some greenstuff like clover might be covered by it.

2 πῶλον. This word in the papyri can refer to young donkeys, camels, horses, or mules. It seems likely that the animal is to be ridden, see next note, which could suit all the possibilities, but perhaps suits the horse best.

3-4 In 4 *εὐβαδής seems inescapable. It appears to be derived from the adverb *βάδην*, 'step by step' or 'at a walk', and therefore perhaps means 'with an easy gait, easy-paced'. This implies that the animal is required to be comfortable to ride.

Peter Parsons miraculously draws my attention to G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* *ἀβαδής, *untrained to go, unbroken*, of a horse, Euthal.Diac., *Ac. proem.* (M.85.629A). Euthalius, speaking of an earlier work in a dedicatory letter addressed to Athanasius, compares himself with 'an unbroken colt or an inexperienced young man ordered to travel a desert and untrodden road', οὐδ' αὖτε πῶλος ἀβαδῆς, ἢ νέος ἀμαθῆς ἔρημον ὁδὸν καὶ ἀτριβῆ ἰέναι προτεταγμένον.

A remotely possible reading of the damaged passage in 3 might be καὶ ὑπηρετηθῆ, 'let it be attended to, groomed', a jussive subjunctive, cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §§ 554-61. After that ποταῖ/ρα (= πότερα) δύνανται, 'whether it can', might suit. This would be more comfortable with a word meaning 'enquire, investigate' preceding, but attempts to read forms of (-)ζητεῖν or ἐξετάζω at that point have not been successful. It might be more attractive to take ποταῖ as ποτε, 'when', but this leaves an awkward patch of unread remains of letters before δύνανται; this is itself not certain, but alpha looks more likely than epsilon before ται.

4363. REPORT TO A PRAESES FROM A BENEFICIARIUS

69/7(a)

13 × 24 cm

c. 314-325

The format in two languages and the layout are unusual. Line 1 contains a fragmentary address to a *praeses*, while the last line (20) has the name and title of Valerius Diogenes *b(ene)ff(iciarius)*. Both of these are in Latin, while the intervening report is in Greek. For the use of Valerius as a status indication at the end of the third century and up to about 325 see **4359** introd. para. 4. Here the script strongly suggests the fourth century and it may also be argued that it is more likely that this report, which concerns the food supply to some particular city, the name of which is lost, relates to Oxyrhynchus at a time when it formed part of a praesidial province, Herculia or Mercuriana, i.e. c. 314-325, rather than that it concerns some city in the Delta province of Iovia, of the same period, or one in the praesidial province of the Thebaid, which was instituted c. 295 and never included Oxyrhynchus.

Unfortunately the ends of the lines are lost, as well as a few letters from some of the beginnings, so that the full meaning is not easy to see, but it seems to emerge that an official in charge of the city food supply had reported or complained that another man had failed in his duty to this department and had compounded his fault with insult or violence to a government or municipal servant, a *ὑπηρέτης*. The city official had requested that the facts should be reported to the *praeses* and the *beneficiarius* duly transmits them.

A rough join, made more conspicuous by a contrast between the lighter left hand sheet and the darker right hand one, runs vertically about 7 cm from the left edge. The back is blank.

.] (vac.) *praesidi p[rouinciae* ...
 (m. 2?) τῆ πρὸ ἐ'καλανδῶ[ν Μαῖων, ἥτις ἐστὶν
 Φαρμούθι κβ', ἐν τ[ῆ] λαμ(πρῶ) καὶ λαμ(προτάτῃ) 'Οξ(υρρυγιτῶν)
 πόλει. Μνησίθεον] [c. 5 letters *κύνδικον* (?)
 5 τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως διοικοῦν[τα τὰ κατὰ τὴν
 εὐθένειαν τῆς α[ὐτῆς πόλεως c. 5 letters *Ἄν-*
δρέαν τινὰ τοῦνομα . . ρ] [c. 5 letters *μηδὲν παρε-*
*ρηνοχένοι ἐπὶ τὸ δημόσιον [c. 10 letters *διὰ?**
ὑπηρετοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς ζ[υνδικίας? c. 10 letters τὴν
 10 *εὐθένειαν τῆς π[όλεως c. 15 letters*
καὶ ὡς παρὰ πάντας τ[οὺς νόμους c. 12 letters
μηδὲν παραφέρειν ἐπὶ τ[ὸ δημόσιον c. 10 letters , οὐ
μ]ῆν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὕβρεις [c. 12 letters τῶ πεμ-
φ]θέντι ὑπηρετῇ ὑπὸ [. .] τοῦ α[ὐτοῦ κύνδικου (?) ἐπαγει-
 15 *ο]χένοι καὶ μηδεμίαν φρ[οντ]ί[δα c. 15 letters*
πέ]ποικέναι, ἀλλὰ τῆ αὐτῆ ἐνστάς[ε]ι[c. 10 letters
κ]εχρησθαι, ὡς ἐκ τούτου γε, κύριε, τὸν α[ὐτὸν κύνδι-
κον ἤξιωκέναι αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἀνε[ε]χθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν
ζ]ῆν ἀνδρείαν, ἴν' εἰδῆς, κύριε. (vac.)

(vac.)

20 (m. 3?)] *Valerius Diogenes b(ene)ff(iciarius)* (vac.) [

 9 ὑπηρετοῦ 13 ὕβρεις[14 ὑπηρετηῦπο 19 ἴν 20 βff/

'To ... *praeses* of the province of ...'

(2nd hand?) 'On the 15th day before the Calends of May, which is Pharmuthi 22nd, in (the glorious and most glorious?) city (of the Oxyrhynchites?) ... Mnesitheus ... (syndic?) of the same city, who is administering (the affairs of the) food supply of the same city, ... a certain person by the name of Andreas, ... has contributed (nothing?) to the public store ... (through an?) assistant of the same (syndicate?) ... (the) food supply of the (city?) ... and that contrary to all (the laws?) ... is contributing nothing to (the public store?) ... , moreover, that he has also offered insults ... to the assistant sent by the (same syndic?) and has taken no notice of ... , but has displayed the same opposition ... , so that as a result of this finally, lord, the same syndic(?) has requested that these same facts be reported to your excellency, for your information, lord.'

(3rd hand?) '(...?) *Valerius Diogenes, beneficiarius*.'

1 If this line began directly above the first letter of line 2 there would be room in the lacuna for about five letters of the Latin script. However, it would be normal for there to be an ecthesis here. If the name of the *praeses* is to be restored he would have had the status indication *Valerius*, cf. introd. para. 1, which would

probably have been written in full. This, *Valerio* plus a probable space and, say, five or ten more letters, implies a fairly generous left hand margin, which would be suitable to the writing and the nature of the document.

p[rouinciae. The trace on the edge appears to be the rounded top of a letter incorporating a join of two strokes. It compares well with the *p* of *praesidi*, except that it would be on a smaller scale and rather more upright. The names of praesidial provinces which are theoretically possible are Thebais, Aegyptus Iovia, Aegyptus Herculia and Aegyptus Mercuriana, none of which offers a suitable initial in any version. See introd. para. 1 for the argument favouring Herculia or Mercuriana, on which provinces see J. D. Thomas, *BASP* 21 (1984) 225-234.

This Latin hand is perceptibly different from the one in line 20, which is quite possibly to be regarded as the autograph subscription of the *beneficiarius*. What is more difficult to decide is whether the writer of line 1 also wrote the body of the report in Greek. The texture of the ink and the thickness of the pen seem very similar; on the other hand the Greek is spiky and jerky, while the Latin here seems rather smooth and fluent. The small sample of Latin makes decision difficult. Tentatively, and reluctantly, it has been assumed that three writers contributed to the document. The question whether this means that the *beneficiarius* had a 'Greek' secretary and a 'Latin' secretary must remain unanswered.

2-3 The day was 17 April in the Julian calendar. For the equation of the calendars see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 99. For the wording compare P. Hamb. I 31a.7-8, P. Strassb. I 42(= P. Sakaon 1).1, PSI V 447.15, 16.

3 The restoration of the name of Oxyrhynchus is doubtful, but seems the most plausible in view of the provenance of the document, cf. introd. para. 1.

4-6 For the phrasing *διοικῶν τὰ κατὰ τὴν εὐθένειαν* cf. XLVI 3295 introd., where it is argued that οἱ διοικοῦντες τὴν φυλαρχίαν are acting in the absence of phylarchs, cf. 4366 3 διοικοῦντι κύνδικίαν. This, taken with 17-18, probably implies that Mnesitheus, who is not known from elsewhere, held some municipal office which, because of the temporary absence of a eutheniarch, he had to combine with responsibility for the food supply of the city. For the eutheniarchy see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 32-3. The hypothesis that he was a *κύνδικος* depends on the trace characteristic of kappa in line 18, see 17-18 n. The *ἐκδικος* is first attested in 331, too late for the likely date of this item. On both officials see B. Kramer in M. Capasso etc., *Miscellanea Papyrologica* II (Pap. Flor. XIX) i 305-329, esp. 307.

7 'A certain person, by name X,' is a turn of phrase which usually indicates that that person is accused of wrong doing.

7-8 *μηδὲν παρε]ρηνοχένοι ἐπὶ τὸ δημόσιον*. Cf. 12 *μηδὲν παραφέρειν ἐπὶ τ[ὸ δημόσιον*.

8-9 One of the best known functions of the *ὑπέρται* is the official delivery of summonses from government and municipal officials, see H. Kupiszewski, J. Modrzejewski, *JJP* 11-12 (1957-8) 141-166, esp. 147-8; S. Strassi, *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrology* 505-6. In this case it seems clear from lines 13-15 that Andreas offered resistance to a *ὑπέρτης* and it is probable that this was the context. The *ὑπέρτης* was probably the assistant of Mnesitheus, who was possibly a *κύνδικος*, see below 17-18 n. A syndic of AD 339 seems to have had the services of at least one *ἀρχιὑπέρτης* and two *δημόσιοι*, who may well have had the title of *ὑπέρτης* themselves, see P. Col. VII 175.4, cf. B. Kramer, D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 229-241. I have considered whether Andreas's fault might have been refusal to undertake the eutheniarchy, because notices to serve as municipal officers were sometimes delivered by a *ὑπέρτης*, see XLIV 3182 17, XLVI 3293 22. However, the wording used in 7-8 and 12 refers to failure to contribute to the *δημόσιον*, which seems to imply rather that there was a compulsory purchase or levy of foodstuff with which he had not complied.

13-15 *ὑβρεις [. . . ἐπαγει]ο]χένοι*. Cf. P. Fouad 26.43-4 *συνεχῶς ὑβρεις ([ο] ὕ[ρ]β[ρ]ε[ε]ς pap.) καὶ ἀδικίας μοι ἐπάγει*, and for the form of the perfect see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 302.

16 *ἐνστάς[ε]ι*. Cf. P. Coll. Youtie II 79.10, P. Ross.-Georg. V 59 recto (introd. p. 173).1 (*ἐνστάσει τῆ αὐτῆ*), SB X 10564.7. All these documents are much damaged so that the sense does not emerge clearly. Here at least the translation 'opposition' seems to be the most suitable, cf. LSJ s.v. III.2.

17-18 The trace in 18 is pretty certainly the oblique characteristic of the lower arm of kappa, which in this hand is often prolonged to an exaggerated extent. If the preceding text has been rightly understood the request for report to be made to the *praeses* must have come from Mnesitheus (4); this trace is therefore plausibly to be viewed as part of the title of his principal office, along with which he was administering the

food supply, see 4–6 n. Since the date as deduced from the use of the *nomen* Valerius, see introd., is too early for an *ἐκδικος*, what comes to mind is *κύνδικος*, see above 4–6 n.

19 *ἀνδρείαν*. On the restricted range of this honorific epithet, which applied to prefects and *praesides* only, see CPR V 7.9 n., amplified by LIV 3757 9 n.

20 The nature of this subscription is uncertain. One might have expected a verb meaning, 'I have reported', after the name and title, but this standing on its own looks like a modern signature, since the writing is clearly in a very different hand from that in line 1, although both are practised and highly professional. It seems unlikely that there was more written after the blank space in 20 and even more unlikely that this short line was continued in a further line below, although the edge is broken and that possibility must remain open.

On the functions of the *beneficiarii* see N. B. Rankov, 'Die Beneficiarii in den literarischen und papyrologischen Texten' in E. Schallmayer (ed.), *Der Römische Weihenbezirk von Osterburken II* (Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 49.1994) pp. 219–232, R. L. Dize, *Anc. Hist. Bull.* 9.2 (1995) 72–85. That this one served as a link of direct communication with the provincial governor in a juridical matter is highly characteristic.

4364. FRAGMENT OF PETITION

69/56(b)

8 × 11.5 cm

Third/fourth century

The original petition was cut down so that the back of this piece could be used for the interesting short letter about Christian books published below as 4365. On this side there survive the foot and the ends of five lines of the petition itself, followed by two subscriptions of two line-ends each, the first that of the petitioner in her own hand, the second in a third hand recording the reply of a high Roman official. The hands and the formulas suggest that the document dated from the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth.

A sheet-join running vertically near the right edge of the piece shows that the writing of the petition runs along the fibres of the recto of the original roll. The letter (4365) is written along the fibres of the verso upwards with respect to the petition.

- c. 18 letters]ω, ἀξιούσα κελεύσέ και ᾧ ἑάν
 κοι δοκῆ γενέσθαι πρ]ός τήν ἀπαίτησιν τ[ῶ]ν
 c. 18 letters]μοι ἀποδιχθέντων, ἀκολοῦ-
 θως τῇ προσφωνήσει τῶν] τῆν μέτρησιν ποιησαμένων
 5 c. 18 letters]εξω διὰ παντὸς τῇ τύχη σου
 χάριτας ὁμολογήσω. (m. 2) Αὐρ]ηλία Cώτιρα ἡ και Ἡcύχιου
 διεπεμφάμην πρὸς ἐπί]δοσιν. (vac.)
 (m. 3) c. 16 letters cu]ναγωνιείταιί και πρὸς τὰ
 c. 17 letters c]τρατηγος. κολλ[λημάτων] cλγ, τόμ[μου].
 1. I. κελεύσαι σε; ᾧ 3 I. ἀποδιχθέντων 6 I. Cώτιρα; ηcυχιῶ 9 κῶ, τῶμ'.^λ

'..., requesting that you order whoever seems best to you to undertake the exaction of ... which have been designated to me, in accordance with the report (?) of those who made the measurement ... so that ... I may continually acknowledge thanks to your *fortuna*.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelia Soteira alias Hesychium, sent (this document) for submission.'
 (3rd hand) '... the ... will help you in your struggle ...' 'Sheet 233, roll 1 (?) ...'

1 ᾧ: pap. ᾧ. In documentary papyri rough breathings are rare enough to deserve a note, see E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* p. 14 (= ed. 2, pp. 11–12), 118, cf. LV 3812 6, 12 (?). Although competent, this official looking cursive hand has none of the pretensions which usually accompany lectional marks.

1–2 New examination of XXXIV 2713 21, cf. below 7 n., in the light of this passage has shown that κελεύ[ε] [δ]πότε ἄν και δ[οκῆ] ἐπαναγκαθῆνα[ι κτλ. should read κελεύ[ε] [ε] [δ] ᾧ ἑάν και δοκῆ ἐπαναγκαθῆνα[ι.

2–4 The content of the petition remains obscure. She asks for a person to be appointed and sent to exact something, perhaps things which have been demonstrated to belong to her, perhaps in conformity with a report from persons who have either measured out goods in kind or surveyed some piece of property. The restorations in 2 and 4 are mere stopgaps, not to be relied upon.

5–6 For the restoration of χάριτας ὁμολογήσω after διὰ παντὸς τῇ τύχη σου cf. e.g. XXXIV 2713 25–6. In 5]εξω is a puzzle. It is an obvious possibility that it is εἰξω going with χάριτας and therefore displacing ὁμολογήσω, but no good parallel in the papyri has been located. Or one might hazard something like ἵνα τούτου τυχοῦσα] εἰξω (= δυνηθῶ) διὰ παντὸς τῇ τύχη σου [χάριτας ὁμολογήσαι, cf. P. Sakaon 41.14–16 ἵνα δυνηθῶ ὑπαντᾶν πρὸς τὰ ἴδια βάρη τῆς γῆς μου και διὰ παντὸς τῇ τύχη σου χάριτας ὁμολογήσαι. (This line of reconstruction now receives very strong support from P. Euphr. 1.16–17, ὅπως, τούτου ἐπιτυχόντες, ἐξωμέν και τῇ τύχη διὰ παντὸς εὐχαριστεῖν, cf. P. Euphr. 2.19, see *Journal des Savants* 1995. 1 p. 71.)

6–7 Aurelia Soteira alias Hesychium seems not to have occurred before. Since it is so distinctive a name, it may offer a possibility of discovering a closer dating in the future.

This subscription is in her own hand. It is difficult to compare with the much larger script of the letter on the other side, which is in a thinner pen, but there may be a possibility that she is the writer of the letter, see 4365 introd.

7 διεπεμφάμην πρὸς ἐπί]δοσιν. This formula is known so far only from Oxyrhynchite documents: XII 1467 28–29 (AD 263?), 1469 23 (298), XXXIV 2713 27 (c. 297), SB XVI 12994.24 (241). 1469 is addressed to a *vicarius* of the praetorian prefects, the other three to prefects of Egypt. The date range raises the possibility that the letter on the back dates from before about 325, by which time Constantine had gained possession of Egypt and made it safe at last to be a Christian there, see 4365 introd.

8–9 This is the answer to the petition, added in the form of an official subscription (*ὑπογραφή*). The implication is that this copy of the document was submitted by the petitioner to some high authority such as the prefect, who returned it to her with the response subjoined. On the procedure, which is not understood in all its detail, see J. D. Thomas, 'Subscriptions to Petitions to Officials in Roman Egypt', in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World, Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven 24–26 May 1982* = *Studia Hellenistica* 27 (1983) 369–382.

8 The beginning of this line would have had the date of the response in a short and abbreviated form, '(year) n, month x', before the text, see Thomas, op. cit. 373–4. If the month name was a long one, e.g. Φαμενώθ, Φαρμούθι, or if the spacing was generous, it is perfectly possible that cu]ναγωνιείταιί was the first word of the subscription.

9 c]τρατηγος. This might be restored as either ὁ τοῦ νομοῦ c]τρατηγός or as ὁ ἐπιc]τρατηγος, although the latter would not occur at a date much later than the middle of the 280s, see 4352 fr. 5 ii 32–3 n.

On the expansion of κολλ[λημάτων] see Thomas, loc. cit. 381. There is only a single case where the word is written out in full, see P. Harr. I 68.14. Photographs show that only one copy, inv. 7, has κολλ[λημάτων] ξη⁻; a duplicate, inv. 6, has κολλ[λημάτων] ξη⁻, and a third copy of the same petition, P. Diog. 18, has κολλ[λημάτων] ξη⁻, see *ibid.* Planche XIII. We are forced to assume that the full form means 'the 233rd of the sheets', but it is more natural to say 'sheet 233'. For such large numbers of sheets compare LVIII 3929 22 n.

τῶμ[μου].⁻. For τόμου in the genitive and in full see P. Mert. II 91.21, Plate XXXIX. In only one case is the number other than α = 1 or 1st. P. Mich. IX 530.29 has κολλ[λημάτων] ν⁻ τόμου γ⁻, 'sheet 50, roll 3', see *ibid.* Plate IV. Here the remains are very slight: an alpha with the tail made as a rather high flat stroke, prolonged to substitute for a numeral marker, is quite possible.

4365. LETTER ABOUT CHRISTIAN BOOKS

69/56(b)

11.5 × 8 cm

Fourth century

This interesting letter about the lending of Christian books was written on the back of a piece cut from a petition, see **4364**. The writing runs along the fibres of the verso upwards and at right angles with respect to that of the petition on the front.

The writer asks a lady addressed as 'my dearest lady sister' to lend a copy of Ezra, 'because I lent you the little Genesis'. Ezra has also appeared in a list of books which is part of a church inventory of the seventh or eighth century, Pap. Lugd. Bat. XXV 13.36. According to the note there the name probably applies to what is usually known as Ezra IV, a complicated compilation of which very little of the Greek text survives, cf. *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* vi coll. 599–606. The date of it may be about AD 100, *ibid.* coll. 603–4, but seems very uncertain. A page from a fourth century miniature parchment codex of the Greek text of Ezra IV has been published as VII **1010**, cf. J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des Papyrus Littéraires Juifs et Chrétiens* 201 No. 574.

For another mention of Genesis in the documentary papyri see XXXVI **2785**, a fourth century Christian letter of introduction for a woman and a man *καθηχούμενον* (l. *κατη-*) *ἐν τῇ Γενέσει*, 'who is being instructed in Genesis'.

On the practice of lending Christian books, especially between monks, see R. Dostálová, 'Der "Bücherkatalog" Pap. Wess. Gr. Prag. I 13 im Rahmen der Nachrichten über Bücher aus frühchristlicher Zeit' in *ΔΩΡΗΜΑ τῶν I. Καργιαννόπουλο = Byzantina* 13 (1985) 537–547, esp. 541–2. Among the comparative material which she cites are Coptic letters from the monastery of Epiphanius, see W. E. Crum, H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* ii pp. 252–7 Nos. 374–379, 383, 389, 393, 395 (all in English translation; Coptic texts on pp. 90–93). She also published a re-edition of the text as P. Prag. I 87 with Tav. LXXIV. It dates from the sixth or seventh century.

Even in so short a letter as this the absence of names is unusual. It is possible to speculate that this denotes a degree of discretion and to argue that it favours an early date, before 325, when Constantine's acquisition of Egypt finally made it safe to profess Christianity there. The parallels to the language of the petition are from the late third century, so that an early fourth century date for the letter is very possible. However, we can do no more than speculate.

Another speculation, rather contradicting the first, is that the subscription of the author of the petition, Aurelia Soteira alias Hesychium, see **4364** 6 and 6–7 n., might be by the same hand as the letter. The letter is written on a much larger scale and with a thinner point, but the forms of the letters are rather similar and it is quite possible that the same person wrote both. If so, the postulated discretion did not extend to making sure that there was nothing on the sheet to identify her as the writer of the letter.

τῇ κυρία μου φιλάτῃ ἀδελ-

φῇ ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ χαίρειν.

χρησῶν τὸν Ἐσδραν,

ἐπεὶ ἔχρησά σοι τὴν

5 λεπτήν Γένεσιν.

ἔρρωσο ἡμῶν ἐν θ(ε)ῷ.

2 κω 6 l. ἡμῶν; θω

'To my dearest lady sister, greetings in the Lord. Lend the Ezra, since I lent you the little Genesis. Farewell in God from us.'

κω = κ(υρί)ῳ. On this sort of abbreviation see A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.* This one and θω = θ(ε)ῷ, cf. 6 and n., are common in Christian letters, the others rare, see M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto* 22–3.

6 ἔρρωσέ μοι is quite common, but according to the Duke Data Bank on Ibycus, ἔρρωσο ἡμῶν is found elsewhere only in P. Strasb. VII 622.9, where there may be some doubt about the reading, reported as ἔρρωσο ἡμῶν; that item dates from 210 BC.

ἐν θ(ε)ῷ. Cf. 2 n., but ἐν θ(ε)ῷ is rather less common than ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ and has not so far appeared in a farewell formula in the material in the Duke Data Bank.

4366. REPORT OF PUBLIC DOCTORS

69/37(a)

12 × 13 cm

336

This report is submitted by the same college of four doctors who were concerned with another surviving report about five years earlier, XLIV **3195** ii, of June 331. The addressee is Flavius Julianus, who in this case is administering the office of syndic, as in VI **901** and its duplicate LIV **3771**, of the same year 336; on his career see LIV pp. 225–6, with LX **4086** 3, **4090** 4, **4092** 3.

There is no sheet join. The back is blank.

For doctors' reports on dead, sick, and injured persons see especially D. W. Amundsen, G. B. Ferngren, 'The forensic role of physicians in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt', in *Johns Hopkins Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 52 (1978) 336–53, esp. 345–8, with P. Roesch, 'Médecins publics dans l'Égypte impériale', in *Centre Jean Palerne, Mémoires III. Médecins et Médecine dans l'Antiquité* (ed. G. Sabbah; St Etienne, 1982) 119–29; cf. LI **3620** 17–18 n., LVIII **3926** 37 n. Add **4370** of 354. The latest report of this kind known so far is P. Rein. II 92 of 393, unfortunately omitted from the very useful collection of references to doctors in papyri in CPR XIII pp. 89–100. P. Harr. I 133 (inv. 198b, description), which mentions public doctors, is ascribed to the fifth century, but a photograph shows that the first surviving line of this very much damaged document has ὑπατείας Γρατ[ιανού], i.e. a date by the consulship of 366, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 113; SB XIV 12099, 12186 (both 367). Cf. also G. H. R.

Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 2 (1982: review of 1977) No. 2, 'Doctors in the Graeco-Roman World'.

The parallels now known are: P. Oslo III 95 (96: Oxy.), BGU II 647 (130: Caranis), I 51 (173: Oxy.), PSI V 455 (178: Oxy.?) P. Oslo III 96 (272: no provenance), XLV 3245 (297: Oxy.), LIV 3729 (307: Oxy.), BGU III 928 (311?: Heracleopolite), SB III 6003 = VI 983 description (316: Oxy.), VI 896 ii (316: Oxy.), CPR XVIIIA 23 (322: Hermopolite), I 52 (325: Oxy.), XLIV 3195 ii (331: Oxy.), 4366 (366: Oxy.), PSA Athen. 34 (347: Heracleopolite), P. Clair. Preisigke 7 (c. 330-350: Hermop.; with duplicate P. Louvre AF 11314, see S. Kambitsis in *Proc. XIX Intern. Congress of Papyrology* (Cairo 1980) i 613-24), 4370 (354: Oxy.), P. Lips. 42 (391, *BASP* 17 (1980) 7: Hermop.), P. Rein. II 92 (393: Oxy.). The doctors concerned are described as public doctors in all but the first two, which antedate the legislation of Antoninus Pius conferring privileges on teachers and doctors up to a restricted number for each municipality and allowing the local authorities to give them salaries, see P. J. Parsons, in P. Coll. Youtie II No. 66, App. II pp. 441-6; for doctors esp. 443. An interesting new reference to the restricted number, now recognized also in P. Clair. Preisigke 7.4, has appeared in CPR XVIIIA 23.5-7: δημοσί[ο]ν ιατροῦ [τ]ῶν ἐν τῷ ὠρισμένῳ ἀριθμῷ τῶν δοκείμων (I. δοκίμων) τῆς ... [Ἐρ]μοῦ πόλεως, 'public doctor' belonging to the prescribed number of those approved in ... Hermopolis'.

ὑπατείας Οὐδῖριου Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Τεττίου

(vac.) Φακούντου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων). (vac.)

Φλαουτῶ Ἰουλιανῶ διοικοῦντι συνδικτῆρα [Ἰ]οξυρυγγίτου

παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Θεωνίνου καὶ Ἡρωνος καὶ Διδύμου

καὶ Κυλλανῶ, δημοσίων ἰατρῶν τῆς αὐτῆ[ς] πόλεως.

ἔπεστάλημεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἑξῆς ἐμμελείας, ἐκ [β]ιβλιδίων

ἐπιδοθέντων ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Πτολεμ. . . [

πρυτανεύσαντος τῶν αὐτόθι, ὥστε [ἐπ]ι[θ]εω-

ρῆσαι τὸν] τούτου γεωργόν, Ἄπιω τοῦ[νομα,

καὶ ἐν[γ]ρ[ά]φως προσφ[ω]νῆσαι τὴν τοῦ[του διά-

θεσιν. ὅθεν ἐπεθεωρήσαμε[ν]

.] [c. 6 letters ἔχ]οντα ἐπὶ τοῦ .]

c. 8 letters ἀμν]χὰς καὶ [

c. 12 letters] . ε . ει . [

c. 12-14 letters] ναγ[

2 l. Φακούντου; λαμς

10 l. ἐγγράφως

'In the consulship of Virius Nepotianus and Tettius Facundus, *viri clarissimi*'.

'To Flavius Julianus, administering the syndicate of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Theoninus

and Heron and Didymus and Silvanus, public doctors of the same city. We were instructed by your Diligence, as a result of a petition submitted by Aurelius Ptolem ..., former prytanis of this locality, to examine his tenant farmer, Apis by name, and report this person's condition in writing. Wherefore we examined ... having on the ... skin wounds and ...'

1-2 Cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 110, R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 206-7.

3 See introd. para. 1. Cf. 4363 4-6 n. for expressions with διοικῶν. We need Ἰοξυρυγγίτου, cf. LIV 3771 (= VI 901).3 and see here line 5, but it was probably abbreviated to οξ', οξυρ', or οξυρυγγί', cf. e.g. LIV 3750 5, 3751 5, 7.

4-5 Cf. XLIV 3195 ii 28-9 (AD 331). These two seem to be the same pair of public doctors as in I 52 of 325, where καὶ Διδύμου καὶ Κυλλανῶ, in that order, is preceded by a lacuna large enough to have included two other names, perhaps therefore Theoninus and Heron again. Another report, VI 896 ii of 316, has an autograph subscription by a Didymus (39), son of Dioscorus (24-5), as well as one by a Heron (37), whose patronymic is lost (24). Heron at least seems likely to be identical with his namesake here, a career of twenty years as a public doctor. A Didymus appears yet again in 4370 of 354; a career of thirty-eight years as a public doctor is near the limit of possibility, and Didymus is one of the most common names in the papyri, but if two persons are involved we cannot yet know where to make the division between them.

6 ἐμμελείας. For this as an honorific title appropriate to high local officials, see CPR V 12.5 n.

7 Πτολεμ. . . [The traces are slight. The likeliest possibilities are Ptolemaeus and Ptoleminus. After mu the trace seems to favour alpha rather than epsilon, i.e. Πτολεμαί[ο]ν rather than Πτολεμει[ο]ν; -μν- is excluded. No prytanis or ex-prytanis of these names is known. The Ptoleminus λογιστεύας of 370 in XVII 2110 7 is surely too late, although it is not unlikely that he was prytanis on his way to the higher office of logistes.

11-12 Restore possibly ἐπεθεωρήσαμε[ν] αὐτὸν κλητή[ρη] ὄντα ἔχ]οντα κτλ., cf. SB III 6003.7, 4370 14 n.

13 ἀμν]χὰς. Cf. I 52 16.

4367. DOCUMENT ABOUT DONATIVES AND ANNONA

69/50(b)

9 × 9 cm

325-337

This document relates to two donatives connected with the emperor Constantine I. It must therefore date from after his victory over Licinius in September 324 and cannot be much later than his death in May 337. One of the parties appears to have borne the title of *praepositus limitis*, hitherto attested only from western and central North Africa, see 3 n.

Part of the top edge survives, but the other three sides are broken and besides this there is fading and damage by abrasion. The text below presents the first three lines fairly plausibly restored as the prescript of a communication to a *praefectus alae* from the *praepositus limitis*. No verb survives: we might think perhaps of a receipt for the money or of an application for it to be paid.

The writing runs along the fibres, although there is no sheet join to prove that that side was the recto. On the back, written across the fibres, are remains of an account of barley, transcribed below as 4368.

Φλαουτῶ] (vac.) Τιμαγέν[ει] (vac.) [

ἐξ ἀπο]πρωτηκτόρων ἐπάρχ(ω) εἰλης [

παρὰ Τρ]ιαδέλφου πραιποσίτου λιμίτου [

 τ]έσσαρες ὑπὲρ δωνατίουων [

 5 . . .] δεσπότης ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Σε[βαστοῦ

 . . .] ρια τῶν δύο δωνατίουων ἀργυρί[ου

 . . .] ἀριθμοῦ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα εἴκοσι ὀκτ[ῶ

 . . .] γανν() μηνῶν δ' ἀπὸ Καλ(ανδῶν) Μαΐων ε[ἰς τὴν πρὸ μιᾶς

 Καλ(ανδῶν) Σεπτεμβρίων

] [.] [.] [.]

2 ε[παρχ]/? 4 ὑπερ 8]γανν", καλ"μαίων

'To Flavius Timagenes, formerly *ex protectoribus*, *praefectus* of the *ala* ..., from Triadelphus (?), *praepositus limitis* ... four (months?) in respect of (two?) donatives ... of our master Constantine Augustus ... the two donatives ... of money ... number (= *numerus*?) twenty-eight talents ... of money ... *annona* for 4 months from the Calends of May (to the eve of the Calends of September) ...'

1-2 The case endings are obscured by damage or abbreviation, but it looks plausible that the prescript followed a pattern similar to that of P. Abinn 55.1-2, Φλαουίω Ἀβιν[υ]έω ἐξ ἀποπροτηκτῶρων ἐπάρχω ἢ εἰληκ κάστρων Διονυσιάδος παρὰ Αἰρηλίου | κτλ. In this period a soldier would have the status designation Flavius, which can be restored, see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33-63; 13 (1974) 283-304, cf. B. Salway, *JRS* 84 (1994) 137-40.

2 The formulation ἐξ ἀποπροτηκτῶρων occurs only in P. Abinn. 55.1, see previous note, see below for the meaning. More common is ἀπὸ προτηκτῶρων, see e.g. VIII 1134 3, XLIII 3122 3, P. Neph. 31.3, 20. That seems too short here, but some doubt should remain about the layout, because in spite of the attraction of the parallel an indentation of the second line here is perfectly possible. On the transliterations of *protector* see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 224.

On *proectores* see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 53-4. After service in the imperial bodyguard or appointment to equivalent status they could go on to posts as commanders of detachments, as here. The equivalent status brought the title of *ex protectoribus* to those who had never been imperial guards. In the case of Abinnaeus we know that he had this form of the title conferred on him when he visited the court of Constantius II on a special mission as an escort to Blemmyan ambassadors, see E. G. Turner in P. Abinn. pp. 10-11, T. D. Barnes, *Phoenix* 39 (1985) 369.

At the end of the line there must have been either the name and number of the *ala*, or its location, possibly even both, though that would perhaps give too long a line. P. Abinn. 55.2 has εἰληκ κάστρων Διονυσιάδος. On that pattern we might consider restoring [κάστρων Ψώβθεως, or, if a longer form is required, [στρατιωτῶν κάστρων Ψώβθεως, cf. e.g. P. Abinn. 45, 47-9, 52-3. Psobthis is the only military camp known in the Oxyrhynchus area, see LX 4089 4 n., cf. LV 3793 9. The *ala* stationed there was probably the *ala III Assyriorum*, see 3793 9 n. for the arguments.

3 Τρ]ιαδέλφου. Also possible is Δ]ιαδέλφου, but that is a less common name. The trace suits either but virtually excludes Θ]εαδέλφου, Φ]ιλαδέλφου, or πα]ρ' Ἀδέλφου. No other possibilities are offered by F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* 294.

πραιποσίτου λιμίτου. In spite of the dots the reading is in very little doubt. The title *praepositus limitis* is known only from western and central North Africa and especially from the *Notitia Dignitatum Occ. XXV* 21-36 (*Comes Africae*), XXX 12-19 (*Dux et praeses Mauretaniae*), XXXI 18-28; 31 (*Dux Tripolitaniae*). However, the earliest references go back to the reign of the Philips, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 652, ii 1271, nn. 103-4, cf. i 47, 59, Y. Le Bohec, *RHDFE* 69 (1991) 307-330 (= *AE* 1992 p. 496 No. 1758), esp. 327, D. J. Mattingly, *Antiquités Africaines* 27 (1991) 75-82. It seems rather unlikely that an officer stationed in Libya, to pick the nearest possibility, although the military details for the *dux Libyarum* (Or. XXX) were

on a lost leaf of the chief manuscript, much less one in the more westerly North African provinces, would be in contact with an *ala* in Middle Egypt about the payment of donatives, but we should note that in the reign of Constantine one commander-in-chief of the army in Egypt had responsibility for the two Libyan provinces as well, with the title *dux Aegypti et Thebaïdos utrarumque Libyarum*, see R. Rémondon, *CE* 40 (1965) 187 No. 4, citing ILS i 701, cf. a predecessor of c. 308-9 with the same title, *ibid.* p. 186 No. 1. However, the most likely supposition is that the title of *praepositus limitis* was held by an officer posted in Egypt in spite of its present singularity there.

The topographical name of the *limes* ought to follow, possibly also *χαίρειν*, as in P. Abinn. 55, and perhaps more, see next note. We know from P. Abinn. 1.5-6 that there was a *limes* of the Thebaid commanded by a *comes* at some time certainly before 29 March 342, when Abinnaeus is first attested as prefect at Dionysias (P. Abinn. 44), and variously estimated as 337/8 (P. Abinn. p. 8) and 336 (Barnes, *Phoenix* 39 (1985) 368-70: correct the table in Le Bohec, *RHDFE* 69 (1991) 327). Here, however, the *praepositus* is clearly far below the rank of *comes*, probably lower than the *praefectus alae* whom he addresses, and the name of his *limes* will be the name of some village or fortlet, not necessarily in the Thebaid, but more probably in the neighbourhood of Oxyrhynchus.

4 τ]έσσαρες. Cf. 8 μηνῶν δ', which suggests very strongly that the word for months preceded here, since it does not follow. That would fill the beginning of the line in this reconstruction, so that it is probable that the prescript ended and the body of the document began in line 3. However, it is not easy to envisage here a sentence in which *μήνες τέσσαρες* appears in the nominative. Since the accusative *τέσσαρας* is very frequently represented by the spelling *τέσσερες*, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 191-2, it may be that we should contemplate something like *ἀπέσχον εἰς μήνας τ]έσσαρες (= τέσσαρας) κτλ.*, 'I have received, to cover four months, in respect of (two?) donatives' etc. One objection to this might be that it does not specify which months, as is done below in 8.

ὑπὲρ δωνατίουων [δύο? Cf. 6 τῶν δύο δωνατίουων. On the transliteration of *donatium* as *δωνάτιον* (or *δωνατίον?*), *δωνατίουον* or *δωνατίβον* see P. Panop. Beatty 2.54 n.

Comparing the references to donatives in respect of the birthday and *dies imperii* of Diocletian in P. Panop. Beatty 2, see the table *ibid.* p. xxvii, we could contemplate the possibility of restoring [δύο κρατήσεως καὶ γενεθλίου | τ]οῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Σε[βαστοῦ, 'in respect of two donatives for the accession and the birthday of our master Constantine Augustus'.

VII 1047 is a six-line account headed *λόγος τοῦ κυρίου μου πραιποσίτου* with two entries, one for the *stipendium* payable on 1 September and another for a donative ascribed to 25 July, which was the *dies imperii* of Constantine, see T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire* 5 and n. 14. That document, assigned to the fourth century, must likewise be of the period 324-337, see J.-M. Carrié, in *Les «Dévaluations» à Rome* (Rome 1975; 1978) 230, n. 11 (= BL VII 134).

His birthday was 27 February of an uncertain year, see Barnes, *op. cit.* 39. The fact that this does not fall in the *quadrimestrium* May to August, specified below in 8, is no obstacle, since donatives for these occasions were paid by instalments to form a regular addition to the *stipendium*, see Carrié, *loc. cit.* 228-9, P. Panop. Beatty p. xxviii.

6] ρια. The trace of the first surviving letter rises above the rho and looks like the right hand side of a loop. The shapes compare well with alpha rho in τ]έσσαρες (4) and ἀργυρίου (6, 7). See next note for a suggested restoration.

6-7 It looks as if different sums were specified in these two lines. Perhaps 6 would have given the total sum due in respect of the two donatives, while 7 would have given the amount received and acknowledged. Perhaps we could guess something like ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ φορ-]ῆ μ]αρία τῶν δύο δωνατίουων ἀργυρί[ου τάλαντων (ποσῶν) τὰ τοῦ ὑπ']ῆ ἐμῆ] ἀριθμοῦ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα εἴκοσι ὀκτ[ῶ, '... I have received ..., from the (so many) talents of money (specified in the receipt?) in respect of the two donatives, the twenty-eight talents (plus?) of money for the unit under my command ...'. That *φορμαρία* means a receipt is shown by e.g. I 43 r. iii 25-9, cf. P. Turner 46.3 n. As observed there, it is part of the technical vocabulary of the Roman army. The meaning is not very clear, but it is difficult to find a relevant word to suit the ending -]αρια, which appears most frequently in the nom. and acc. plural of diminutives in -]αριον.

In P. Panop. Beatty 2 the sums for donative are all divisible by 625 denarii, taken tentatively there, introd. pp. xxvii-xxx, as the amount per man. Here twenty-eight talents, which are den. 42,000, would not be so divisible, but it is possible that the figure could have been anywhere between twenty-eight and twenty-nine talents, for instance, den. 42,500 ÷ 625 = 68. For two donatives, that would imply a small unit of thirty-

four men under the *praepositus limitis*. All this is highly uncertain. For instance, the rate of the donative may have been raised in the period of rapid inflation between 300 and 325.

8]γανν(.). It looks very much as if γανν() represents an abbreviation of some form of ἀνώννα, and the whole line is reminiscent especially of P. Panop. Beatty 2.39-40 καὶ ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ἀνώννης ὀφειλομένης αὐτοῖς μηνῶν τεσσαρῶν ἀπὸ καλανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων εἰς τὴν πρὸ μιᾶς καλανδῶν Ἰανου[αρι]ῶν, cf. 294-5.

The first surviving letter of the line is almost certainly nu, and certainly not sigma for ὑπὲρ τιμῆς]. We might consider εἰς τιμῆ]ν ἀν(ώννης) as a possibility, but it sits oddly with ὑπὲρ δωνατίουων (4).

For the restoration at the end of the line cf. P. Panop. Beatty 2.39-40, just quoted, 246-7, 286-7, 294-5. It may have extended into the next line, where the traces are too tiny to allow it to be checked.

The suggestions made above for the restorations would produce a text of the following shape:

παρὰ Τριαδέλφου πραιποσίτου λιμίτου [c. 5 letters χαίρειν. ἀπέσχον εἰς
 5 μῆνας τ]έσσαρες (1. -ας) ὑπὲρ δωνατίουων [δύο κρατήσεως καὶ γενεθλίου
 το]ῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Σε[βαστοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ φορ-
 μ]αρία τῶν δύο δωνατίουων ἀργυρί[ου ταλάντων (ποσῶν) τὰ τοῦ ὑπ'
 ἐμέ] ἀριθμοῦ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα εἴκοσι ὀκτ[ῶ δην(άρια) πεντακισχίλια καὶ
 εἰς τι-
 μῆ]ν ἀν(ώννης) μηνῶν δ' ἀπὸ Καλ(ανδῶν) Μαίων εἰς τὴν πρὸ μιᾶς
 Καλ(ανδῶν) Σεπτεμβρίων

'From Triadelphus, *praepositus limitis* ..., greetings. I have received, to cover four months, in respect of two donatives for the accession and the birthday of our master Constantine Augustus, from the (so many) talents of money specified in the receipt (?) in respect of the two donatives, the twenty-eight talents (five hundred denarii?) of money for the unit under my command, and for the value of *annona* for four months from the Calends of May to the eve of the Calends of September ...'

This, of course, is a work of the imagination, and not reliable.

4368. ACCOUNT OF BARLEY

69/50(b)

9 × 9 cm

c. 325-350?

This is the text of the few lines which survive on the back of **4367**. They are written in a fluid official cursive hand across the fibres. Barley was frequently requisitioned for the use of the army, particularly as fodder for horses. It is therefore easy to envisage the account as part of the rough paperwork of the *ala* whose commander is seemingly addressed in **4367** 1-2, see note. The possibility that it was written on the papyrus before **4367** cannot be excluded by any strict argument, but it is very unlikely that such an informal document, written across the fibres, would have stood initially on the back of a sheet destined to receive an important official communication. Therefore it is likely to be at least slightly later than **4367**.

(vac.) κριθ(ῆς) (vac.) [
 Θέων ὁ κ(αί) Ὁριγένης (vac.) [
 Ὁριγένης Ὁριγένους (ἀρτ.) ρ[
 Ἡροδότη . . . Σαραποδώρα [
 5 Η ἀπι] ς[

 1 κριθ/ 2 ο^κς 3 ρ[

'Barley.'

'Theon alias Horigenes ...'

'Horigenes son of Horigenes (art.) 100(+?)'

'Herodote ... Sarapodora ...'

3-4 One hundred artabas or more is a substantial amount for a private individual to contribute as tax or levy, which might suggest that Horigenes son of Horigenes was a collector, but the female names in line 4 suggest rather that these are individuals with enough property to be assessed for large contributions.

4 The writing between the names is rapid and possibly abbreviated. If it is ἡ κ(αί), then the end is very strangely different from that of ὁ κ(αί) in 2. If it is simply καί, then the kappa is very different from the one in κριθ(ῆς) in 1 and αἰ is not clear either. There is a slight presumption in favour of ἡ κ(αί) in order to avoid having two persons in one line, but co-owners are possible.

Ἡροδότη is a rare name in the papyri; it occurs otherwise only in PSI V 461.29, in a list of liabilities for money taxes, which is from Oxyrhynchus and dated AD 290. In spite of the substantial difference in date which is postulated, at least thirty-five years, there may be some possibility that the same person is meant.

4369. OFFICIAL LETTER

44 5B.63/77(a)

27 × 26 cm

345

This fragmentary letter, written in a splendid chancery hand, is addressed to receivers of a money tax destined to cover the freight charges on the transport of goods by ship from Egypt to the capital. The tax seems to have been introduced under Licinius in 316 and from the first to have applied to the sea traffic between Alexandria and Byzantium, as well as to Heraclea (Perinthus), see B. Sirks, *Food for Rome* 196-7 and n. 14, although this may not have been the case continuously in the period before Constantinople became the capital, *ibid.* 198-9.

The sender instructed the receivers to deliver the money to the *officium* of the *praefectus annonae*. That refers, presumably, to the *praefectus annonae Alexandriae*, since the Egyptian tax grain had been diverted to Constantinople by 332 at the latest, see Sirks, *op. cit.* 193-201, and there was no prefect of the *annona* at Constantinople, *ibid.* 357. This is therefore the earliest reference to the post by about four years, see 6 n. The incumbent's name is not given.

The sum concerned, ten myriads of myriads of denarii, or 1,000,000,000 denarii, may permit some interesting deductions to be made about the Egyptian contribution to the grain supply of Constantinople, see 3 n.

The format shows that the sender was an official in a high government post, quite probably a *praeses Augustammicae* as in the better preserved L 3577; its large 'Chancery style' main hand, autograph subscription of the sender, and consular dating in Latin, are to be compared particularly with 3577, with its introduction and Pl.XVII. In this case his name is irrecoverable, but he could have been the *praeses* known from two years earlier, see 1 n.

The inventory number is close to those of the archive of Papnuthis and Dorotheus, published in XLVIII 3384–3429, and it is possible that the Sarapammon mentioned here is a man who appears in some of those texts, see also 1 n. and 4371 introd. para. 5.

The writing runs along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut, as is shown by a prominent sheet join running vertically about 8 cm from the right edge, which is complete. Another sheet join can just be detected near the broken left edge in the lower half of the document. The distance visible between these rather irregular joins is about 17 or 18 cm.

Top and bottom edges are partially preserved, but the beginnings of the lines are lost. With the beginnings of the lines it is probable that we have lost a marginal annotation in Latin giving the place of issue and the month and day, like 3577 10–12, and on the back of the same lost piece an address to the recipients, like 3577 13, written downwards along the fibres of the verso. Still dimly visible on the back, which is mostly blank, are the fragmentary remains of the very ends of perhaps five lines in a small cursive, of which only the final eta of the last is legible. The content of these it is impossible to guess. They are upside down with respect to the writing on the front and possibly unrelated.

Φλάουϊος c. 5]ιος (vac.) Αὐσονίω καὶ Σαραπάμμωνι ὑποδέκταις
 up to c. 15 letters]υ ναύλου (vac.) χαίρειν.
 ἀργυρίου δηναρίων] μυριάδων (m. 2) '[μυριά]δας δέκα' (m. 1) ἐκ λόγου
 τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑποδοχῆς τῶν θαλαττίων
 ναύλων τῆς τρίτης εὐτ]υχούς ἐπινεμήσεως ἅμα τῷ δέξασθαι τὰ γράμματα
 τῆς
 5 ἐμῆς καθοσίωσεως εἰς] τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διακομίσαι καὶ παραδοῦναι τῇ
 τάξει τοῦ κυρίου μου
 τοῦ διασημοτάτου] ἐπάρχου τῆς ἀνώνυμης φροντίατε, τῆς ἀριθμητέως
 ἄποχα γράμματα ἀ]φ[αλ]είας ἔνεκεν τῆς ὑμετέρας κομιζόμενοι. περὶ
 γάρ τοι τοῦ
 ἐμπροθέμωσ τῆ]ν μετὰθειν τ[ῶν] χρημάτων γενέ[σ]θαι πρὸς Ἰπτολεμαίων
 τὸν ἐπι
 c. 15 letters] .ρεικοῖς καὶ κεφ[αλαι]ω[τ]ᾶς καὶ εἰρηνάρχας γιγνώσκεται
 τὰ αρ—

10 c. 15 letters] . . (m. 3) ἔρωω[θ]ε. (vac.)
 (vac.)
 11] (vac.) [(m. 4?) Fl(auiis) Am]antio e[t A]lbin[o] u[ir]is
 c[larissimis] co[n]sulibus). (vac.)
 (vac.)
 12 (m. 5?)] . . Σαραπάμ[μ]— c. 15 letters] μυρ(ιάδων) μυρ(ιάδ-) η ,ην
] . Αὐξον[ι]ο[] c. 15 letters] μυρ(ιάδων) μυ[ρ](ιάδ-) α ,αχ.

3 ὑμετερας?, θαλαττίων 7 ὑμετερας; γάρ: γ altered 9 εικοῖς in darker ink over η: 1.
 εἰρ]ηνοῖς? 11 [Al?] for Flauis; uiccooss 12 μυρμυρ· 13 μυρμυρ[]

'Flavius ... us to Ausonius and Sarapammon, receivers of freight charges (on seagoing ships), greetings. Take care as soon as you receive the letter of my Devotion to transport to Alexandria (2nd hand) ten myriads (1st hand) of myriads of denarii in money from the account of your receivership of the freight charges on seagoing ships for the third felicitous indiction and deliver (them) to the staff of my lord the *uir perfectissimus* the prefect of the *annonae*, and for your own security take delivery of letters of receipt for the payment. For concerning the completion of the transfer of the money (within the due date?) ... you (?) (should?) know(?) that the ... to Ptolemaeus (in charge of affairs relating to the peace?) and to headmen and eirenarchs.'

(3rd hand). 'Farewell.'

(4th hand?). 'In the consulship of Flavius Amantius and Flavius Albinus, *uir clarissimi*.'

(5th hand?). '... (by agency of?) Sarapammon ... 8 myriads of myriads of denarii and 8,400 myriads of denarii.'

'... (by agency of?) Auxonius ... 1 myriad of myriads of denarii and 1,600 myriads of denarii.'

1 Restore perhaps Φλάουϊος Ὀλύμπιος, who is attested as *praeses Augustammicae*, however, only in documents of 343, see most lately A. Emmett, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* iii 825–8. For the short and lacunose *fasti* see P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 194.

Ausonius and Sarapammon have not been firmly identified elsewhere; Ausonius is a comparatively rare name, but this man appears as Auxonius below in 13, which confuses the search still more. Sarapammon is common, but he may be a man known from the archive of Papnuthis and Dorotheus, see introd. and especially 4371 introd. para. 5.

ὑποδέκταις. See N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 51 for receivers with this title. The combination ὑποδέκτης ἦτοι καταπομπός found in SB I 4513.5–6, perhaps of 369/70, is particularly suitable to the situation in this document, since they are ordered to convey the money down to Alexandria. Unfortunately the word identifying the commodity concerned in SB 4513 remains unread.

2 Restore perhaps: (vac.) θαλασσίου] ναύλου, although this order of words has not been found elsewhere. An indentation is perhaps to be expected, cf. 3577 2, 3579 2.

3 '[μυριά]δας δέκα'. The handwriting does not reveal who made the very necessary correction. The flourish on the final alpha, which reaches as far as the first alpha of ἅμα in line 4, might be compared with the one on the end of the autograph ἔρωωθε of the sender, but that is in a different, very large, style of writing. The same problem arises each time the style of the writing changes: did the clerk who wrote the main text also write the Latin consular date or the annotations below it?

The restoration of the addition above the line as '[μυριά]δας δέκα' is confirmed by the figures in lines 12–13, which together add up to den. 1,000,000,000, the equivalent (÷ by 1,500) of 666,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ talents. The solidus may have been worth perhaps c. 250 talents in 345 (cf. LIV p. 208, which has prices in the low 240s for a date about AD 340), so that this sum was equivalent, very roughly in this period of uncertain but rapid inflation, to about 2,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ gold solidi.

In Justinian's Edict XIII ch. 8 the freight charge on the grain shipment from Alexandria to Constantinople is said traditionally to have been 80,000 gold solidi (νομισμάτων μυριάδας δκτώ) in respect of 8,000,000 units of grain (τῆς ... εἰσοπομπίας εἰς δκτακοσίας μυριάδας σνιούσης). If the rate was already the same in 345 as it

was in the sixth century, that is, sol. 1 per 100 units, then our 2,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ solidi would represent the charge on 266,666 units of grain, which would be roughly one thirtieth of the total assessment of 8,000,000 units. These calculations, rough though they are, plausibly suggest that in this period the sum of ten myriads of myriads of denarii, one thousand million denarii, was the total due in respect of the freight charge on the tax grain assessment for the Oxyrhynchite nome, one of the most prosperous of the fifty or so nomes of Egypt.

SB XIV 12208 (from H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 32 (1978) 237-240) has given us some interesting figures relating to the tax on the wheat production of the Oxyrhynchite nome, and these have been convincingly reinterpreted by R. S. Bagnall, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 263-4. The basic figure of tax grain for all categories is given as 281,278 artabas. This is sufficiently close to our roughly calculated 266,666 units to encourage us to favour the artaba rather than the modius as the unit referred to in Edict XIII.8, although the point is much disputed, see A. J. B. Sirks, *Athenaem* 79 (1991) 215-237, esp. 229-232.

Consultation of these three articles will show that there are many other considerations which ought to be examined before such rough calculations and simplistic arguments are accepted, but it may be that 4369 will prove to have contributed an important factor to the discussion.

4-5 τῆς [ἐμῆς καθοσιώσεως. On the use of this honorific abstract see CPR V 7.8 n. As the equivalent of *deuotio*, 'loyalty' (to the emperor), it gives a particularly useful way for an official to refer to himself, cf. XLIII 3126 ii 2, L 3577 4, 3578 7, 3579 4. P. Princ. III 183.7, P. Ryl. IV 652.9, P. Sakaon 30 (=P. Thead. 49).5, 13, P. Turner 45.13-14, SB VI 9253.12-13, XVI 12580.3.

5-6 See introd. para. 2 for the argument that this passage refers to the *praefectus annonae Alexandriae*, first known hitherto from C. Theod. XII 6, 3 of 349. His title in P. Turner 45 of 374 is λαμπρότατος, but in P. Ryl. IV 652, undated, he was only διασημότατος. The probable implication is that the post was at first of equestrian rank, but later senatorial, see P. Turner 45.2 n. B. Sirks, *Food for Rome* 15 n. 28, doubts whether this prefect had responsibilities for the *canon* sent to Constantinople as distinct from the *alimonia* of the city of Alexandria. This document connecting him with the tax covering freight charges on seagoing ships confirms that he did.

6-7 For the sense of the restoration cf. P. Panop. Beatty 2.42 και ἄποχα τὰ συνήθη ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαριθμῆσει δέξασθαι παρ' αὐτῶν (l. -οῦ) γράμματα; similar passages occur frequently thereafter in that document.

8 ἐμπροθέσμωσις is a stopgap. One of many alternatives might be δόλοκληρον, 'concerning the completion of the transfer in full ...'

8-9 πρὸς τὸν ἐπι[...] ρεικοῖς (εικοῖς over ης). Although the run of the sense is doubtful, it may be better to take τοῦ ... [... τῆ]ν μεταθεῖω ... γενέ[ε]θαι as complete in itself, referring to the main task of conveying the cash to the *praefectus annonae Alexandriae*, and so to separate the πρὸς and take it with whatever is to be supplied in 9-10. This view has been taken for the translation above.

In 9 the first surviving trace suggests eta and the next letter looks very like nu. Perhaps therefore the text had εἰρ]ηρικοῖς over εἰρ]ήνης, which seems to suit the following eirenarchs, see below. In 341 and 342 there was a high police official in charge of the peace of the whole Oxyrhynchite nome entitled the ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης, see L 3575 3-4 n., add LV 3794 3, 20 and 3821 16, with 3821 introd. Perhaps the official here was one with a similar rank and duty but with a variant of the title, comparable with the τῶ τὰ εἰρηρικά ἐμπιστευμένω (l. ἐμπειστ-) in (P. Thead. 17 = P. Sakaon 44 =) P. Turner 44 of AD 331-2, see P. Turner 44.16 n. Comparing 4381 9 τοῦ ἐπιτεταγμένου τῇ εἰρήνῃ (375) we might envisage e.g. ἐπι[τεταγμένου τοῖς εἰρ]ηρικοῖς (= εἰρηνοκοῖς).

On the police organization of this period see G. Geraci, *Studi Tardoantichi* (= *Hestiasis. Studi ... S. Calderone*) 3 (1987) 235-45, cf. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 23-4, P. Turner 42 introd.

κεφ[αλαι]ω[τ]ῆς και εἰρηνάρχας. A κεφαλαιωτῆς εἰρηναρχῶν appears in three roughly contemporary texts, LIV 3769 9 (334), L 3576 21 (341), XIX 2233 3-4 (350). It appears, therefore, that we have here three grades of police officials in descending order, who were probably to play some part in the safe conduct of the receivers and their consignment of money to Alexandria.

γγινώσεται. It seems difficult to account for this as a passive, but quite possibly it stands for γινώσεται, present indicative or imperative, with the frequently met substitution of αι for ε, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 191-3. The present imperative usually has connotations of continuity or futurity, see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 296-7 §§695-8, so that it might mean virtually 'bear in mind', not much different from the indicative 'you are aware'. No ὅτι or ὡς appears, so that we can probably expect that an accusative and infinitive followed, op. cit. 331 § 801. It is not clear what sense we should expect: we could guess e.g. τὰ ἄρ[ματα] ἤδη ἀπεστάλθη[αι], 'that the wagons have already been dispatched', cf. P. Panop. Beatty 2.302, 304, although there

the wagon is called an ὄχημα. Or possibly something more general, such as τὰ ἄρ[μόζοντα] ἤδη ἐπεστάλθη[αι], 'that the appropriate instructions have already been sent'.

10 For this autograph subscription, probably that of a *praeses Augustamnicae*, cf. L 3577 introd. pp. 192-3.

11 Cf. 3577 9 and introd. p. 192. The month and day would have been supplied by an annotation in the left margin, likewise in Latin, giving also the place of issue, cf. 3577 10-12.

For these consuls see R. S. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 225.

12-13 The notation is difficult to express in English. In line 3 it was simplest to say 'ten myriads of myriads of denarii' (den. 10,000 × 10,000 (= 100,000,000) × 10 = den. 1,000,000,000), but we could equally well have said 'one hundred thousand myriads of denarii' (den. 10,000 × 100,000 = den. 1,000,000,000). In this place if we begin with what seems to be the natural 'eight myriads of myriads of denarii' (den. 10,000 × 10,000 (= den. 100,000,000) × 8 = den. 800,000,000), then we have to go on to say 'and eight thousand four hundred myriads of denarii' (den. 10,000 × 8,400 = den. 84,000,000), total 884,000,000, so perhaps it would have been easier to express it as 'eighty-eight thousand four hundred myriads of denarii' (den. 10,000 × 88,400 = den. 884,000,000). So in 13 'eleven thousand six hundred myriads of denarii' is den. 10,000 × 11,600 = den. 116,000,000, which added to the sum in line 12 make den. 1,000,000,000 or den. myr. 10, cf. 3 and n.

These lines are in the same hand, which could possibly also be the same as the one which made the supralinear addition of the sum in line 3. They are obviously not countersignatures by the receivers, but it is difficult to say exactly what they are.

The beginnings are lost and there are lacunas capable of taking about fifteen letters in this hand between the name and the sum of money in each line. The case endings of the names cannot be established, although Αἰξον[ε]ο[] cannot be dative, if rightly read. Before the names the traces in both lines might possibly be read as δ[ε] / = δ[ε] (α), which would seem appropriate, but is not truly verifiable. Possibly there was nothing before these traces. The lacunas in the middles of the lines could well have been blank for the most part, i.e. the arrangement would have been similar to an account, with names on the left and sums of money on the right. The last word in the lacuna is quite likely to have been δηναρίων, probably in the form of an abbreviation or a symbol.

4370. REPORT OF PUBLIC DOCTORS

40 5B.110/B(1-2)a

13 × 16 cm

7 November 354

For this type of document see 4366 introd. This example, broken at the foot before the medical details become clear, reports the examination of the slave of a *palatinus*, which took place in the house of a *tribunus*. We would have been happy to learn more of the activities of both in Oxyrhynchus, cf. 9 n., 13 n.

The report was submitted by a college of four public doctors, as in 4366, I 52, and XLIV 3195 ii. The addressee is Flavius Sarmates, a logistes. The date gives us a fixed point in his term of office; he is probably the same person who figures as Sarmates ex-logistes (ἀπὸ λογιστῶν) in XVII 2110 13, of 370.

The writing runs along the fibres, but there is no sheet join to prove for certain that the written surface is the recto. The back is blank.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου
 Αὐγούστου τὸ ζ' καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ
 ἐ[π]ιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ γ', Ἀθῶν ια'.
 Φλ[αο]υῖω Καρμάτη λογιστῇ Ὁξυρυχέιτου

5 παρὰ Ἀύρηλιων Εὐλογίου καὶ Ἄνουβίωτος καὶ
 Διδύμου καὶ Ἡροδότου, τῶν τεσσάρων δημοσίων
 ἰατρῶν τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. ἐπεστάλημεν
 ὑπὸ τῆς αἰεὶ ἐπιεικίας, ἐκ βιβλιδίων ἐπιδοθέν-
 των [ὕπ]δ' Φλαουτίου Μαρτυρίου παλατινοῦ, ὥστε
 10 ἐπι[θεωρ]ῆσαι τὴν περὶ τὸν τούτου οἰκέτην, Ἄξιν
 τυ[α, διάθε]σι καὶ ἐγγράφως προσφωνήσα[ι].
 ὅθ[εν αὐτὸν] ἐπεθεωρήσαμεν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλε[ω]ς
 c. 10 letters]εῖα ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἄννιανοῦ τριβού[ου]
 c. 12 letters]χοντα ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς ἀριστερᾶς
 15 c. 15 letters] . [.] [.] διαίρεσι πλε-
 c. 18 letters] . . . [

1 ὑπατείας 4 l. Ὁξυρρχίτου 7 ἰατρῶν 8 ὑπο; l. ἐπιεικίας 11 l. ἐγγράφως

'In the consulship of our masters Constantius Augustus for the 7th time and Constantius the most noble Caesar for the 3rd time, Hathyr 11th.'

'To Flavius Sarmates logistes of the Oxyrhynchite territory, from the Aurelii Eulogius and Anubion and Didymus and Herodotus, the four of them public doctors of the same city.'

'We were instructed by your Equity, as a result of a petition submitted by Flavius Martyrius, *palatinus*, to examine the condition of this man's slave, a certain Aeus, and report in writing. Whereupon we examined him in the city ... in the house of Annianus the tribune, ... having on his left ... an incision ...'

1-3 For the conversion of the date see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 112, 97.

4 For Sarmates see introd. para. 2.

5 *Εὐλογίου*. A public doctor of Oxyrhynchus with the same name is known from P. Rein. II 92 of 393. Again a career of thirty-nine years as a public doctor is stretching probability, but is possible, cf. 4366 4 n. Eulogius, like Didymus, is a common name.

6 *Διδύμου*. Cf. 4366 4 n.

Ἡροδότου. This is a rare name in Roman Egypt. It occurs also in one of the parallels to this report, SB III 6003 (=VI 983 description) of 316, as the patronymic of the doctor who made that report. It is possible that the later Herodotus might have been related to the earlier one. The much damaged text was presented by Hunt in an article by K. Sudhoff, *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 3 (1909) 104-9. From this it appears that the doctor had the name Apion as an alias, preceded by another name now lost: παρὰ Ἀύρηλιου . . . τῶ] καὶ Ἀπίωνος Ἡροδότου. A photograph seems to show rather that the name was] *Σαραπίωνος*, with *Σαρ-* written very rapidly in a rather cramped style and so misread as *κατ*. The space does not require an alias; παρὰ Ἀύρηλιου] *Σαραπίωνος* will do.

6-7 *δημοσίων ἰατρῶν*. See 4366 introd. para. 4.

9 This Flavius Martyrius seems not to have appeared elsewhere. *Palatinus* is a very general term for those who performed duties in the *comitatus* of the emperors. The index to A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 1506, divides them into three categories, 'officials of the *comitatus*', i.e. all civil servants in the palatine ministries, 'officials of the *res privata* and *largitiones*', and 'the field army'. Constantine favoured them highly with exemptions from compulsory public service, so that palatine office became a popular way for members of the city councils to escape their burdensome local obligations, see *ibid.* i 743-4. It may be that Martyrius was an Oxyrhynchite sinecurist of this kind, although there is a possibility that he was simply passing through the town, see 13 n.

10-11 Ἄξιν τυ[α. Cf. 4366 9 Ἄπιν τοῦ[ρομα. The name is a fairly rare one hitherto confined to texts from the Arsinoite nome and especially the village of Theadelphia, see XII 1446 54, P. Strasb. VIII 710.2, 9, 13, IX 852.1(?), and BGU IX 1900, in which it is frequent. Alternative possibilities for the dotted letters (εῖ) seem to lead to no better results.

13]εῖα. One possible word might be *ξενία*, 'guesthouse, guest-quarters', see G. Husson, *OIKIA* 178-80, but ἐν τῇ ξ]εῖα is awkward before ἐν οἰκίᾳ and it is difficult to think of a convincing form of words. If a *ξενία* is involved, this might imply that Martyrius and his slave were passing through Oxyrhynchus on official business, see the *mansio* accounts mentioning *palatini* in LX 4087 70, 73, 162.

Ἄννιανὸν τριβούνου. This person is new, unless it is possible that he might be the same as Flavius Annianus, *protector*, who appeared in XLV 3266 (full edition in P. Coll. Youtie II 82) of 337. In that case he would presumably be a military tribune, promoted from *protector*, rather than a civil servant of the *militia officialis*, cf. LVIII 3960 37-8 n., 4367 2 n. The Annianus of the fourth century letter LVI 3859 11 is another possible candidate for the identification.

14 Restore possibly *κλιθήρη ὄντα ἐ]χοντα*, 'being confined to bed with ...', cf. 4366 11-12 n., citing SB III 6003.7, where the same words occur.

4371. FRAGMENT OF BILINGUAL PROCEEDINGS

44 5B.63/76(a)

28 x 26 cm

341-399?

This fragment has parts of eleven long lines of high court proceedings of the type in which the framework is in Latin and the speeches in Greek, cf. 4381 introd. para. 7. Here the full height of the roll is preserved but a good deal is missing at the beginnings of the lines, the whole of a consular date clause in line 1, for example, and several of the lines have lost something at the ends as well.

The dating can only be approximate. The script of the proceedings would suit the middle or the second half of the fourth century. The accounts on the back (4372), which must be later than the proceedings, do not look late, so that sometime close to 350 seems likely.

The location of the proceedings was the city of Pelusium, which suggests a period when both Oxyrhynchus and Pelusium were still in the province of Augustamnica, founded in 341. According to George of Cyprus, *Descriptio Orbis Romani* 744-751a, giving a list of the cities of the later and smaller province of Arcadia, Oxyrhynchus was its metropolis. Arcadia consisted of Middle Egypt only and did not include Pelusium. The earliest mention of it is in a document which has been newly interpreted and can now be dated to the period 397-399, see D. Feissel, *Travaux et Mémoires* (Collège de France. Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance) 11 (1991) 441-447, cf. J. Kramer, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 157-162, esp. 158-9, and a new *terminus post quem* for the creation of the province is provided by 4385, of 22 May 386, see *ibid.* introd. para. 3.

The presiding officer may well have been the governor of the province, the *praeses Augustamnicae*, cf. L 3576, where the presence of some persons is required at the *officium* of the *praeses* in Pelusium. The case is about a disputed appointment to a compulsory public service. There are two named speakers in court, Diogenes (11) and Sarapammon (6), who suggests the name of another person, Peter son of Agathinus, no doubt as a

suitable person to carry out the service in question. Lines 2–5 look like two speeches by an advocate, linked by *et] subiunxit*. The advocate mentions Sarapammon, described as a councillor of Oxyrhynchus, probably as the person who made the disputed nomination. The person appointed, probably Diogenes, is or was a deputy in one post and now holds another post in connection with the first *pagus*, i.e. an area in the south of the Oxyrhynchite nome; he has no sons of legal age or ‘another brother’ who is able to do something, perhaps assist him or substitute for him in the service in dispute. The combination of *αὐτὸς μὲν* in 3 and *ἀδελφὸν ἕτερον* in 4 suggests that a mention of one or more brothers has intervened. The *exactor* and *stationarii* are mentioned in what looks like a request for action to be taken through their agency (5). In lines 6–11 we have the remains of an interrogation by the presiding official. A fresh line was taken for each question and answer, cf. e.g. LI 3619, with R. A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings* (Pap. Brux. 4) 54 n. 3, and since the exchanges were short most of these lines do not fill the great width allowed in this format. To the first question Sarapammon answered, ‘I suggest Peter son of Agathinus’ (6). This answer may have been prolonged into line 7, or, more likely, line 7 may have contained a separate question and answer which together were not long enough to leave any remains. In 8, the question is lost, but we have a complete answer: ‘he answered, “Yes”’. Line 9 is short and has the end of an answer, ‘... we have all been pagarchs’. At this date the word *παγάρχης*, is equivalent to *praepositus pagi*, see 9 n. One guess might be that someone is saying that exercise of this post is not sufficient to excuse a person from service in the disputed public duty. Only the final uninformative word of an answer survives in the next line, also short,] *ἱκανῆς* (10). In 11 we have the answer, possibly in full but not necessarily so, ‘Diogenes said, “I was away” (?)’, preceded by the end of the official’s question; enough remains to make a guess at a restoration: *διὰ τί, τῆς προβολῆς τοῦ ὀνόματος γιγνομένης, βοηθὸν οὐκ ἤτησας?*, ‘Why, when the proposal of your name was made, did you not ask for an assistant?’. Clearly no ruling has been given and this was not the end of the proceedings, so that we have lost not only the beginnings and the ends of the lines of this first very broad column but also at least one more column.

It may be worth recalling that the inventory number is close to those of the archive of Papnuthis and Dorotheus, published in XLVIII 3384–3429; the Sarapammon concerned here (2, 6) could just possibly be the one who appears frequently in those papers: 3387, 3388, both 342, 3396 7, 16, 3419 3, 3420 2, 47, 3427 8, all without date. The hand of the Aurelius Sarapammon who writes a subscription for the illiterate Apynchis in 3386 30 seems different from that of the Sarapammon of 3387–8, see 3386 30 n. The Sarapammon of 4369 1, 12, which again has a neighbouring inventory number, could also be the same man. The dated documents of the archive of Papnuthis and Dorotheus span the period 331 to 371, and some documents are likely to be later than 371, see XLVIII pp. 74–76.

The proceedings are written along the fibres of the recto of the original roll, as is proved by two sheet-joints running vertically, one c. 2.5 cm from the left edge, the second

c. 21.5 cm from the same edge and c. 6.5 cm from the right edge. The width of the fully preserved sheet, between the edges of the sheet-joints, is therefore c. 19 cm. On the back, upside down in relation to 4371 and written across the fibres of the verso, are accounts of grain in three columns, the middle one completely preserved, the outside ones somewhat damaged, see below 4372.

iii id(us)] *Sept(embres) in Pel(usio) Θῶθ ι //*. (vac.) [] [] . *Καραπάμμωνος βουλευτοῦ τῆς Ὀξυρρυχιτῶ[v. et] subiunxit*, [] *ἡμένων διάδοχα ποιούμενος καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν αὐτὸς μὲν το[ῦ] πρώτου πάγου* . [] *υἱοὺς ἐν]ήλικας οὐκ ἔχει οὔτε ἀδελφὸν ἕτερον χολάζοντα, δυνάμενον αὐτῶ κυ[ν]—?*

5 *πρ]ογοῖα τοῦ ἐξάκτορος καὶ τῶν στατιωναρίων*. (vac.) [] (vac.) *Sarapammon d(i)xit*, *ὑποβάλλω Πέτρον Ἀγαθίνου*. (vac.) [] (vac.) [] (vac.) *τ(espondit), ναί*. (vac.) [] *αι πάντες παγάρχαι γεγόνα{c}μεν*. (vac.) [] *ἱκανῆς*. (vac.) [] *ατος γιγνομένης βοηθὸν οὐκ ἤτησας*. *Diogenes d(i)xit*, *ἀπήν*. []

1 in·pel· 2 l. Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν 6 d/=dixit 7 τ/=τ(espondit) 9 ἱκανῆς
10 d/=d(i)xit

‘... on the 7th day before the Ides of September, in Pelusium, Thoth 10th.’

‘... of Sarapammon councillor of Oxyrhynchus’. And he added, ‘... doing (business?) as a substitute for ... and now he is himself, on the one hand, ... of the first *pagus* ... he does not have (sons) of the age of majority or another brother at leisure who can ... (for?) him ... through the attention of the *exactor* and the *stationarii*.’

‘... Sarapammon said, “I suggest Peter son of Agathinus”.’

‘... He answered, “Yes”.’

‘... we have all been pagarchs’.

‘... sufficient’.

‘... “(Why, when the proposal of your name) was made, did you not ask for an assistant?”. Diogenes said, “I was away”(?)’.

i vii id(us)] *Sept(embres) in Pel(usio) Θῶθ ι //*. For the conversion of Thoth 10th to VII Id. Sept. see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Wörp, *The Chronological Systems* 96. In the Julian year this was 7 September, or 8 September after an Egyptian year with six intercalary days, see *ibid.* Before the day a consular date clause in Latin is lost.

] *Sept* is much damaged; any mark of abbreviation will have been lost. For the format see XVI 1878 1 (Plate I): *die Kal(endarum) Septembr(ium)*, *Heracleopolis*: see LI p. 48 No. 28), (m. 2) *Θῶθ δ*. Ed.pr. does not make it clear, except from the Plate, that *Θῶθ δ* is in a second hand. Here the pen, ink, and style seem very much the same in spite of the change of language and the same is true throughout.

3 *διάδοχα ποιούμενος*. No parallel to this use of the neuter has been located. I take it to indicate that the person concerned was doing work originally assigned to others.

καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν αὐτὸς μὲν το[ῦ] πρώτου πάγου . [. The appeal against appointment to public service was

chiefly based on the plea that he was doing government business relating to the first *pagus*, probably as *praepositus pagi*, see 9 n., although the damaged letter on the edge is not pi; perhaps epsilon is likeliest.

The first *pagus* was in the south of the Oxyrhynchite nome, near the border with the Hermopolite, see P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 69 (1989) 115–6, Jane Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* 12.

The *μέν* may well suggest that someone else was mentioned. The next line informs us that he had no sons of age to do public service and no ‘other’ brother able, perhaps, to assist him or to a substitute for him in this one. Perhaps, therefore, there was a reference to a brother or brothers also already burdened with public service.

5 *πρ]ογοία τοῦ ἐξάκτορος καὶ τῶν στατιωναρίων*. Cf. P. Fuad I Univ. 320.2 (p. 117), ἀξιοῦμεν *προνοί[α]* τοῦ ἐξάκτορος [P. Berl. Zill. 4.22, a reference which I owe to Professor J. D. Thomas, is very pertinent: βοηθεία τοῦ ἐξάκτορος καὶ τῶν στατιζόντων. This is the only identified case where *στατιζών* is used of the lesser sort of *stationarii* such as are clearly meant here, cf. 4382 n. It dates from c. 349, because the presiding official is Flavius Strategius, known as *praeses Thebaidos* in that year from P. Amh. II 140, cf. J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile* 251.

On the office of *exactor* see J. D. Thomas in L. Criscuolo, G. Geraci (edd.), *Egitto e Storia Antica* (Atti del Colloquio Internazionale, Bologna 31 agosto-2 settembre 1987) 682–691, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 90 (1992) 243–5, esp. 247–250 (list).

6 On ὑποβάλλω see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 63; it is specific to curial services, and this is obviously the case here, see 2.

7 Nothing survives of this line. It may have contained a complete question and answer, shorter than usual, or more of the exchange begun in 6.

8 On the abbreviation expanded as *ῥ(espondit)* see LI 3619 9 n.

9 *παγάρχαι*. This evidently refers to *praepositi* of the *pagi*, and not to the powerful magnates who are called pagarchs in the later Byzantine papyri, see W. Liebeschuetz, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 66 (1973) 38–46, esp. 38–40. There are a few parallels: first C. Theod. VIII 15.1 (before Constantine's death in May 337), where *παγαρχεῖν* is used to mean ‘act as *praepositus pagi*’, see M. Gelzer, *Studien zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Ägyptens* 96 n. 1, secondly XVII 2110 4, where *παγαρχία* occurs in a document of 370, see 2110 4 n., J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile* 133 n. 4, and thirdly *παγ(ι)αρχία Τήσεως* in XLVI 3307 1, of the early fourth century, equivalent to a description of the eighth *pagus*, see note.

γεγόνα(ς)μεν. This is an odd error, but since the end of the line is blank for about 12 cm it is impossible to articulate it as *γέγονα μέν*. Moreover, the argument seems to be that all the councillors, or perhaps all of a group within the council, have been *praepositi*, and that the exercise of the office did not give immunity from the public service now under discussion.

11 See introd. for a suggested reconstruction of the question.

The papyrus breaks off close to the end of *ἀπὴν*, so that a longer restoration, on the lines of *ἀπὴν[τησα]* or *ἀπὴν[εργα]*, is not excluded. However, the obvious *ἀπὴν*, ‘I was away’, is very likely to be right. Even so the sentence may have continued or there may have been something more in this answer.

4372. ACCOUNT OF GRAIN

44 5B.63/76(a)

28 × 26 cm

341–399?

These accounts stand on the back of 4371, upside down in relation to it, and are published here mainly for the sake of completeness, since it is difficult to see exactly what their context was. The damaged heading refers to the exaction list (*ἀπαιτήσιμον*) of the eighth indiction, which implies that they concern taxes or rents in grain. Eighth indictions falling in the period to which 4371 is assigned are 349/350, 364/5, 379/380, 394/5. The script favours the earlier dates. The first column has names and amounts of wheat in artabas, some of them described as arrears of the sixth indiction, and of the seventh, followed by a sum total, which is correct, and by some additional figures

apparently relating to the next indiction, indiction nine, which is puzzling, and by some other notes which are damaged and not at present understood. In most cases the names, which are damaged on the left, can be restored from column ii, which is complete except for some patches of abrasion. Col. ii has amounts of barley in artabas, several of them followed by an alternative amount; the figures are difficult to check and total because of these alterations. Here too there is a note relating to the ninth indiction. In column iii the names are familiar from i and ii, but the ends of the lines are lost and it is therefore not clear what the commodity was. It was measured in artabas (66) and may have been, for instance, lentils. There are marginal check marks in the shape of thick dots or sigma-like curves or oblique lines beside some of the entries of col. ii. Col. iii has none; the left margin of col. i is lost.

There is some possibility that these accounts may be connected with the archive of Papnuthis and Dorotheus, see 4371 introd. para. 5, suggesting that the Sarapammon there might be one who figures in that archive. Among the names in 4372 the only possible connection is through *Ἡλίας γεωργός*, who might be identical with a tenant farmer mentioned in XLVIII 3388, an order dated 342 from a Sarapammon instructing Papnuthis as steward to issue seed corn to a tenant farmer (*γεωργός*) called Elias. This is very tenuous.

	i	
	. . . . .]	ἀπαιτήσιμου ἡς'' ἰνδικ(τίωνος).
		(vac.)
	Κιλβα]νός χαλκεύς	σίτου (ἀρτ.) να
	ἐχθ]έσεως	σίτου (ἀρτ.) ιγ
	Ἡρα]κλῆς πρεσβύτερος	σίτου (ἀρτ.) λδς'
5	Κελο]ίτιος ἀμπελο[υ]ργός	σίτου (ἀρτ.) ιβδ
	Διος] ἀμπελουργός	σίτου (ἀρτ.) ιγL dχ ^ο β
	. . .] . ος ἐχθέσεως ςς''	σίτου (ἀρτ.) ιδς'
	Θέ]ων ἀπ(ὸ) ἐπ(οικίου) Ἰατροῦ	σίτου (ἀρτ.) κε
	Κελο]ίτιος γεωργός	σίτου (ἀρτ.) ρζL dχ ^ο β
10	ἐχθ]έσεως ςς''	σίτου (ἀρτ.) κη
	ζς'' ἰ]νδικ(τίωνος)	σίτου (ἀρτ.) dχ ^ο β
	. . .] . ος ὃ ἔσχεν δι(ὰ) τῆς μητρ[ό]ς	σί(του) (ἀρτ.) adχ ^ο β
	Ἡλί]ας γεωργός	σίτου (ἀρτ.) ξβχ ^ο δ
	. . .] . ἐχθέσεως ςς''	σίτου (ἀρτ.) νηχ ^ο ς
15	Ἀπί]ων γεωργός	σίτου (ἀρτ.) ρλης'χ ^ο δ
	Πα]ῦλος Πολέμων	σίτου (ἀρτ.) κδχ ^ο ς

Πετ]τιρις τέκτων είτου (άρτ.) γς'

Ca]ρμάτης γέρων (vac.)

Άνοϋτις φροντιστήs εί(του) (άρτ.) sL dχ^οβ

20 Κoρ[β]ούλων ἀπ(ὸ) Χιρ() είτου (άρτ.) ι

Πετεϋρις ἀπ(ὸ) 'Ιστρου εί(του) (άρτ.) s

(γίνονται) (άρτ.) χL d, θs'' φόρων (άρτ.) φδς' χ^οη

ὦν ἐχθέσεως (άρτ.) ριεd. λημματίζει-

τε δε τ[δ] φ . . . ει . s s'' πάγου μη ψηφισθέν.

1 ινδικς', and similarly throughout 2 = ἀρτάβαι, and so throughout 3 ἐχθέσεως: l. ἐκθέσεως, and so throughout 4 s' = ½, and so throughout 5 d = ¼, and so throughout 6 L d = ¼ (i.e. ¾), and so throughout; χ^ο = (χοίνικες), and so throughout 8 απ' επ' 12 δι'; ει (cap of sigma cut by iota): so also 19, 21 20 απ' χιρ' 21 απ' ιστρου 22 / = (γίνονται) 23-24 l. λημματίζεται

25 C Cιλβανὸς χαλκεύς
 . ἐχθέσεως

C 'Ηρακλῆς πρεσβύτερος

C 'Ερμίας ἐλευργός

 Κελοίτιος ἀμπελου[ργ(ός)?]

30 Δίος ἀμπελουργός

 'Ηλίαι Καλατεγ (vac.)

 ἐχθέσεως

C Κελοίτιος γεωργός

 ἐχθέσεως s s''

35· ζs'' Ἰνδικ(τίωνος)

 'Ηλίαι γεωργός

C Ἄπιων γεωργός

C Παῦλος καταμίνιος

C Παῦλος Πολέμων

40 C Πεττιρις τέκτων

 Caρμάτης γέρων

// Πεκύς ταυρελάτης

 Πετενοϋφίς ἀπ(ὸ) 'Ιστρου

C 'Ηρακλῆς πρεσβύτερος . . .

 κριθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) κs

 κρ[ι]θ(ῆς) (άρτ.) δs'

 κρ[ι]θ(ῆς) (άρτ.) κs' χ^οη

 [κρ]ιθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) ιγL dχ^οβ

 κριθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) β

 [κ]ριθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) βs'

 κριθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) μζ (άρτ.) μα

 κριθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) ε

 κριθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) νζs' χ^οs

 κριθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) ιγs'

 κριθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) ιs'

 κριθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) λδχ^οδ (άρτ.) κβ

 κριθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) κdχ^οδ

 κριθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) α

 κριθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) [[λζL dχ^οη^ο `κηχ^ο s'

 κριθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) ιθ ἄλ(λαι) (άρτ.) β'

 (vac.)

 κριθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) κs' χ^οβ (άρτ.) κζL d

 κριθ(ῆς) (άρτ.) ιας' ἄλ(λαι) (άρτ.) ιας'

 (vac.)

45 C Κελοίτιος ἀπὸ φ[.] . . . cίας (άρτ.) κs'

 C Ἄφουδς ἀπὸ Λαμάκων (άρτ.) ζ

 (γίνονται) (άρτ.) τμηδ' s' χ^οδ,

 ὦν ἐχθέσεως (άρτ.) μβd.

 (vac.)

 θs' φόρων κριθῆς (άρτ.) τλαL d.

50 [[τμβ]]

 25 κριθ, and so throughout 28 l. ἐλαιουργός 38 l. καταμήνιος? 40, 43 αλ'

47 / = (γίνονται)

 iii

 Cιλβα(νός) χαλκεύς . . . [

 'Ηρακλῆς πρεσβύτερος [

 Κελοίτιος ἀμπελουργός [

 Δίος ἀμπελουργός [

55 Θέων ἀπ(ὸ) 'Ιατροϋ [

 Κελοίτιος γεωργός [

 ἐχθέσεως s s' [

 'Ηλίαι γεωργός [

 ἐχθέσεως s [s'

60 ζs'' Ἰνδικ(τίωνος) [

 Ἄπιων γεωργός [

 Παῦλος Πολέμων

 Πεκύς ταυρελάτης

 Άνοϋτις φρο[ντιστήs

65 Πετεϋρις [ἀπὸ 'Ιστρου

 (vac.) [

 (γίνονται) (άρτ.) [

 ὦν ἐχ[θέσεως

 55 απ' 66 / = (γίνονται)

Col. i

‘... exaction list of the 8th indiction.

	Silvanus, smith	wheat artabas	51
	Arrears	wheat artabas	13
	Heracles, priest	wheat artabas	34½
5	Celoetius, vinedresser	wheat artabas	12¼
	Dius, vinedresser	wheat artabas	13½¼ ch. 2
	... arrears of 6th	wheat artabas	14½
	Theon from the hamlet of Iatru	wheat artabas	25
10	Celoetius, tenant farmer	wheat artabas	97½¼ ch. 2
	Arrears of the 6th	wheat artabas	28
	7th indiction	wheat artabas	¼ ch. 2
	(The same?): what he had through his mother	wheat artabas	1¼ ch. 2
	Elias, tenant farmer	wheat artabas	62 ch. 4
	(The same?) for arrears of the 6th	wheat artabas	58 ch. 6
15	Apion, tenant farmer	wheat artabas	138½ ch. 4
	Paulus alias Polemon	wheat artabas	24 ch. 6
	Pettiris, carpenter	wheat artabas	3½
	Sarmates, old man	(vac.)	
	Anutis, overseer	wheat artabas	6½¼ ch. 2
20	Corbulo (?) from Chir()	wheat artabas	10
	Peteyris, from Istru	wheat artabas	6.

‘Total: artabas 600½¼, of which arrears: artabas 115¼. And the sum for ... in the 6th *pagus* has been credited (?), although not counted.’

‘Taxes (rents?) of the 9th: artabas 504½ ch. 8.’

Col. ii

25	Silvanus, smith	barley artabas	26
	Arrears	barley artabas	4½
	Heracles, priest	barley artabas	20½ ch. 8
	Hermias, oil-worker	barley artabas	13½¼ ch. 2
	Celoetius, vinedresser	barley artabas	2
30	Dius, vinedresser	barley artabas	2½
	Elias alias Kalateg(?)	barley artabas	47 art. 41
	Arrears	barley artabas	5
	Celoetius, tenant farmer	barley artabas	57½ ch. 6
	Arrears of the 6th	barley artabas	13½
35	7th indiction	barley artabas	10½
	Elias, tenant farmer	barley artabas	34 ch. 4 art. 22
	Apion, tenant farmer	barley artabas	20¼ ch. 4
	Paulus, hired by the month	barley artabas	1
	Paulus alias Polemon	barley artabas	28 ch. 6
40	Pettiris, carpenter	barley artabas	19; another art. 2
	Sarmates, old man	(vac.)	
	Pecysis, bull-driver	barley artabas	20½ ch. 2 art. 27½¼
	Petenuphis, from Istru	barley artabas	11½; another art. 11½
	Heracles, priest	(vac.)	
45	Celoetius from ...	barley artabas	25½
	Apphus from Lamasonis	barley artabas	7.

‘Total art. 348 (or 374)½ ch. 4, of which arrears art. 42¼.’

‘Taxes (rents?) of the 9th: barley art. 331½¼.’

50

‘[[342]].’

Col. iii

(51-67) ‘Silvanus smith ..., Heracles, priest ..., Celoetius, vinedresser ..., Dius, vinedresser ..., Theon from Iatru ..., Celoetius, tenant farmer ..., Arrears of the 6th ..., Elias, tenant farmer ..., Arrears of the 6th ..., 7th indiction ..., Apion, tenant farmer ..., Paulus alias Polemon ..., Pecysis, bull-driver ..., Anutis, overseer ..., Peteyris from Istru ..., Total art. ... of which arrears ...’

1 The trace on the edge seems to be part of an upright. Something like ἀντίγραφο]ν, ‘copy’, might account for the genitive in ἀπαιτησίμου and fit if it were set out into the margin a little, but this is not specially appropriate.

2 Cαλβα]νός. See 25, 51.

4 Ηρα]κλής. See 27, 44, 52.

5 Κελο]σίος. See 29, 53, cf. 9, 33, 45, 56. The name is unknown elsewhere, but there seem to be three persons so called in this document, a vine-dresser (5, 29, 53), a tenant farmer (9, 33, 56), and another identified only by his place of origin or residence (45).

6 Διο]ς. See 30, 54.

7 Cf. 14 for another entry with something before ἐχθέεωσ. There are no similar entries in col. ii and probably none in iii. Here the ligature suits]λός best, but the sense seems to suggest rather δ ἀ]τός, also for 14 δ ἀ]τός, expanded from οαυ]τ. Similarly in 12 δ ἀ]τός suits the slightly different context.

8 Θέ]ων. See 55.

ἀπ(δ) ἐπ(ουκίου) Ίατροῦ, cf. 55. No such place is recorded in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*. A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* iii 6 records a τόπος Ίατροῦ from P. Lond. IV 1419.369; this was in the Upper Aphroditopolite nome and the document dates from the eighth century. In this list (8 and 55) it is not possible to read Ίατρον, a well known Oxyrhynchite locality, see 21 n.

In R. Pintaudi, P. J. Sijpesteijn (edd.), *Tavolette Lignee e Cerate da Varie Collezioni* (Pap. Flor. XVIII) No. 31 we find printed Πτολλῶς ἀπὸ ἐπικ/ιατρ/διπ/α (11) and Ἀρείων ἀπὸ ἐπικ/ιατρ/διπλ/α (13). Line 17 has ἀπὸ ἐπικ/ιατρ/ too, but I could not verify it from the plate (Tav. XLI), and 2 may have ἀπὸ ιατρόσ as printed, but the plate allows some doubt. It seems likely that ἀπὸ ἐπ(ο)ικ(ίου) Ίατροῦ, with an iotacism, is to be recognized in 11, 13, and possibly 17, with perhaps some version of ἀπὸ Ίατροῦ in 2. There is some probability that the codex of Ammonius (Tav. Varie Nos. 23-32) comes from Oxyrhynchus too, not the Fayum, as argued *ibid.* pp. 102, 120.

9 Cf. 5 n.

10-11 This Celoetius, the tenant farmer, has arrears which to go back to the two previous indictions here and in 34-35, in 57 only the sixth indiction appears. For the restoration of ζς see 35.

12 There is no parallel entry. δ could possibly be δ, which might be more comfortable. The most attractive restoration would be δ ἀ]τός, see 7 n. We could envisage something like καὶ πρ]ός δ κτλ., ‘and in respect of what he (Celoetius) had through his mother’, but the meaning of this would not be perfectly clear. What is clear from the arithmetic is that this amount is counted as arrears, see 23 n.

13 See 36, 58. The tenant farmer Elias is the only possible tenuous link with the archive of Papnuthis, see introd. para. 2.

14 Perhaps restore δ ἀ]τός, cf. 7 n. Elias has no arrears of barley (36), but has arrears of both the sixth and the seventh indictions in the third commodity (59-60).

15 See 37, 61.

16 See 39, 62. Polemon is presumably an alias of this Paul.

17 See 40.

18 See 41, where likewise a blank follows the name and description.

19 See 64.

20 Κορ[β]ούλων. The end, -ύλων, seems clear, but the reading is rather doubtful. The entry has no parallel in the other columns.

No place name Χιρ() or Χειρ() is known, either in the Oxyrhynchite nome or elsewhere in the papyri, cf. 8 n.

21 See 65, cf. 43. For Ίατρον in the Middle toparchy see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 73. It is now known from LX 4089 21 (AD 351) to have been assigned to the 7th *pagus*. A place in the 6th *pagus* seem to be mentioned in 24, see 23-4 n.

22 The total of the column is correct at $600\frac{1}{4}$ artabas of wheat. There are forty choenices to the artaba, as usual. The choenices appear only in groups of 2, 4, 6 and 8. Ten choenices are noted as one quarter of an artaba.

After the column total the text should be read straight on into 23, 'of which arrears: art. 115 $\frac{1}{4}$ '. Although in the same hand, the rest of line 22 is just slightly out of register and was probably added later as a separate note; note that 49, its counterpart for column ii, has been added in the lower margin, well below the column total. Here the damaged $\theta\varsigma$ ' is corroborated by 49, which clearly has $\theta\varsigma$ ' φόρων κριθής. The reference forward in time to the ninth indiction in a list which is headed with a reference to the exaction list of the eighth indiction and which contains notes of arrears of the seventh and sixth indictions is puzzling. Perhaps this is a figure for the assessment of the next year. φόρος is ambiguous; taxes perhaps seem more likely than rents.

23 The figure for arrears is correct at art. 115 $\frac{1}{4}$: 13 (line 3) + 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ (7) + 28 (10) + $\frac{1}{4}$ ch. 2 (11) + 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ch. 2 (12) + 58 ch. 6 (14) = 115 $\frac{1}{4}$.

23-4 The reading and meaning of this passage are still uncertain. It seems likely that before $\zeta\varsigma$ ' παρά there is a new place name, φ., which probably occurs again in 45 ἀπὸ φ[.] cίας. Istru was in the 7th pagus, see 21 and n., and it is not unlikely that the 6th and the 7th pagi were adjoining, cf. e.g. P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 69 (1989) 117.

Comparison of the two passages perhaps allows the tentative suggestion of the readings Ἐφήμιαιας (24) and Ἐφ[η]μιαιας (45). No other places of the same name are known. It might originally have denoted a piece of land leased for a half share of the crop, cf. e.g. II 277 5 ἐφ' ἡμιεῖα (l. ἡμιεῖα) πάντων τῶν ἐσομένων ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν καὶ γενημάτων, 17-18 μεμίσθωμαι τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ἡμιεῖα [καθὼς] πρόκειται, VI 913 ἐφ' ἡμιεῖας (l. ἡμιεῖας) τῶν [περιγυνομ]ένων καρπῶν.

LSJ records the adjective ἐφήμιος, known only from XIV 1668 10, as meaning 'half as much again'. The edited text and translation of the whole passage (4-17, cf. Sel. Pap. I 150) run as follows: συνέβαλον τῷ Σκωρῷ χάριν τῶν ἐργαστηρίων, καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ δός μοι (ἀρτάβας) ἰβ, ἢ λαβὲ (ἀρτ.) ἰβ, καὶ περὶ τούτου διὰ προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς ἐδήλωσά σοι, νῦν δέ μοι ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸ ἐφήμιον ἐδώκαμεν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις. οὐπω οὖν ἐγὼ συνθέμην περὶ τούτου, ἄχρι οὗ σοι δηλώσω. εἶπεν γάρ μοι 'ὅτι οὐδ' οὕτως συνέθεντο οἱ ἐργαζόμε[ε]νοι, ἐπὶ ἡ τιμῇ τοῦ ζείτου ἄλογη ἐστίν (l. ἐπέε, τιμῆ, τίτου), 'I had a meeting with Skoru respecting the workshops, and formerly he said "Either give me 12 artabae or take 12 art.", as I told you in a previous letter; but now he said to me, "We have given the workmen one and a half as much". I accordingly would not make an agreement with him about this before telling you. For he said to me that the workmen had not agreed even on these terms, since the value of the corn is small.'

It looks more likely that τὸ ἐφήμιον here means 'half and half', like ἐφ' ἡμιεῖας or ἐφ' ἡμιεῖα, although the situation is hard to see. We ought perhaps to understand the phrase as an iotacistic writing of τὸ ἐφ' ἡμίσει. We might guess that this is a job to be done on wheat, possibly milling. Skoru wants to undertake it and thinks the resulting amount will be roughly twenty-four artabas clear. His first proposal is that either he should have the work done for a fee of 12 art., the uncertain remainder going to the owner, or that the owner should accept 12 art. as his share and allow the unknown remainder to Skoru and Co. This is analogous to cultivation contracts where there may be either a fixed rent in kind to the landlord, or a fixed fee to the harvesters for their work. But Skoru then says that he has 'given', meaning presumably 'offered', 'half and half' to the workers who may carry out the work, and adds that even so the workers are not ready to agree.

The likely meaning of λημματίζεται ... μὴ ψηφισθέν, 'is credited, although not counted', should be that the wheat had been received but that the amount was not yet known to the compiler of the account.

28 Hermias the oil-worker does not appear in col. i or col. iii.

31 Elias alias Calateg (or Calageg?), cf. Παῦλος Πολέμων and 16 n., occurs only here. No name similar to Calateg has been identified elsewhere. It looks like a metathesis of καταλεγ-, but this has suggested no solution so far.

With this entry the trouble with alternative figures begins: art. 41 has been added, apparently in the same hand, after art. 47. A similar alternative appears in 36; in 39 the first figure has at least been deleted; in 40 and 43 additional sums are signalled by ἀλ(λαί). No satisfactory way of making the account total correctly has been identified yet. See also 48 n.

38 Παῦλος καταμήνιος. The ending is damaged, but it seems likely that this is for καταμήνιος, a worker hired by the month, cf. H. Cuvigny, *BIFAO* 88 (1988) 39-40, although her interpretation of καταμειν() as

καταμήνιος is contested by I. Fikman, *ZPE* 84 (1990) 67-8, who adheres to καταμειν(ας). This term might suggest that the list is connected with some large estate, but again the link is tenuous.

42 See 63.

43 Petenuphis does not occur in col. i or col. iii. Just possibly this entry should have referred to Peteyris from the same locality (21, 65).

44 Heracles, priest, has already appeared within this column, see 27, cf. 4, 52, which probably accounts for the failure to complete this entry. Although damaged *πρεσβύτερος* seems clear enough; the scanty traces after it have not been recognized as part of κριθ(ής), as in a standard entry.

45 See 5 n. for this Celotius. For the much damaged place name see 23-4 n.

46 Apphus does not appear in col. i or col. iii.

Lamason is known as a personal name, but not previously as a place name. Places named after people are very common. The sixth-century Oxyrhynchite *μον(ή)* or *μον(ακτήριον)* *Λαμάσιωνος* known from PSI VII 791.11 could possibly be named after a place rather than a person.

47 The figures have not been made to total satisfactorily, see 31 n., 48 n.

48 The calculation of the arrears should be easy, but this figure of 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ is also puzzling. Barring error, the calculation should be: 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ (line 26) + 5 (32) + 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ (34) + 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ (35) = 33 $\frac{1}{2}$. The figures have been checked again and seem certain in spite of some minor damage.

49 Cf. 22 n., para. 2.

50 This figure looks as if it has been deliberately smudged or half washed out. It may be related to the column total (47) or to the figure for the 9th indiction (49), although it is a centimetre or so below the earlier part of 49.

51-67 Unlike col. ii, col. iii has no check marks, but the significance of that is not obvious.

All the names are familiar from cols. i and ii. This one also relates to a commodity measured in artabas (66), and to the same accounting period as the others, see 57, 59-60, so that the commodity is presumably a different agricultural crop; lentils would perhaps be the most likely, cf. e.g. LI 3628-33, lists of commodity prices. The last trace in 51 might well be a phi, for φ[ακοῦ], but there is some ink before it which requires explanation. It could perhaps be accidental.

4373. ORDER TO SUPPLY WINE

63 6B.66/K(1-3)a

27 × 6 cm

26 June 364

The order is directed to a wine steward by two persons who are the employees of an estate belonging to two or more landowners. They order the steward to disburse one jar of wine as the ration for the date of the order and the three following days, four days in all, to a new recruit, said to be a volunteer, who came from a place called Sebennytyus, see 2 n. This origin recalls the passages in the Theodosian code which speak of the recruitment of *uagi*, vagrants, into the late Roman army, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 615, ii 1254 n. 15.

The format is that of a horizontal strip, with long lines written *transversa charta*, cf. 4359 introd. para. 5, that is, across the fibres of the recto, as is proved by the remains of a sheet join running horizontally below the last line and visible only at the bottom edge on the right. The back is blank.

A similar order to supply meat, from the same two senders and dated in the same year, has been published as P. Lond. V 1655. Its text can be much improved by comparison with this, see *ZPE* (forthcoming).

// Ἀφφους καὶ Ἰσιδωριαν(ος) (vac.) Χαιρήμονι οἰνοχ(ειριστῆ) χ(αίρειν). (vac.)
 δὸς Ἐραπίωνι ἀπὸ Σεβεννύτου τήρωνι ἐπιδεδωκότι ἑαυτὸν εἰς στρατίαν εἰς
 τοὺς νῦν
 κελευσθ(έντας) εἰσενεχθῆναι νεολέκτ(ους) ἐπὶ τῆς ζς' ἐπινεμήσεως ὑπὲρ
 τῆς οὐ(ία) τῶν κυρίων
 μου γεούχ(ων) καὶ νῦν ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) δ' τῶν ἀπὸ Ἐπειφ β' ἕως ε' οἴνου
 κεράμιον ἐν μ(όνον), α. (m. 2?) ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχ(ομαι?)
 5 (ἔτους) μς' θς, Ἐπειφ β'. (vac.) πολλοῖς χρό(νοις). δὸς οἴ(νου)
 κερ(άμιον) [α.

1 ἰσιδωριανός, οἰνοχός 2 ἰ. στρατεία 3 κελευσθ', νεολέκτ', οὐς 4 γεούχ?, ὑ'ημερ', μς,
 ευχ' (or ευχ[ο]?) 5 ἰ., χρός, ο' (iota cut by horizontal) κερ[?]

'Apphus and Isidorianus to Chaeremon, wine steward, greetings. Deliver to Sarapion from Sebennytus, a recruit who has submitted himself for military service among the new levies now ordered to be contributed for the 7th indiction in respect of the estate of my lords the landowners, forthwith in respect of the four days from Epeiph 2 till 5, wine one jar only, 1. Year 40, 9, Epeiph 2.' (2nd hand?) 'I (or we?) pray for your health for many years. Deliver wine 1 jar.'

1 The two almost perpendicular lines before the first name may be check marks, but they appear no different from the rest of the writing.

2 ἀπὸ Σεβεννύτου. Sebennytus in the Delta is a long way from Oxyrhynchus and moreover was probably at this date in the province of *Aegyptus*, cf. Hierocles, *Synecdemus* 725.2, while Oxyrhynchus would have been in *Augustamnica*. The village of Sebennytus in the Arsinoite nome, comparatively close to Oxyrhynchus and in the same province, may be meant, but it seems likely that this would have been specified more carefully. See introd. for the suggestion that this person was a vagrant of some kind.

ἐπιδεδωκότι ἑαυτὸν. An actual example of a volunteer for military service at this period is worth noting, see Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 614-5, but of course we cannot be absolutely sure that the description given by the document is perfectly true; the wording of τοὺς νῦν κελευσθ(έντας) εἰσενεχθῆναι νεολέκτ(ους) suggests that the more usual process of conscription was going on at the same time, even if it did not affect this recruit.

3 Indiction 7 is 363/4, see below 5 n. and R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 75.

4 μου. ... (m. 2?) ... εὐχ(ομαι?). The order purports to come from two people, so that μου is a slip and εὐχ(όμεθα) would be strictly correct. The farewell formula and countersignature are slightly more rapid, but they could have been written by the same person as the main text, and this seems not unlikely. P. Lond. 1655 has two countersignatures, as we would expect, but also has μου in this place.

5 Era year 40/9=363/4, see Bagnall, Worp. op. cit. 38. Epeiph 2 is 26 June, see ibid. 101.

4374. FRAGMENT OF A TAX LIST

65 6B.31/M(1-2)a

10 × 26.5 cm

before 5-14 April 365

This piece was cut out of the tax list so that the back could be used again for the next item, 4375, which is dated to April 365, on a day between the 5th and the 14th inclusive. The list was therefore compiled before that day. Each person in the list is associated with an area of land, measured in aruras, and an amount of money, specified

in myriads of denarii, a monetary term not common before the second half of the fourth century, see R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation* 12. The figures for the money are in every case incomplete or possibly incomplete, but it can be calculated that each arura was assessed at somewhere between 11,250 and 12,500 denarii, see 4 n. It is not clear that the document relates to a tax on land; it was a common practice to share out other government levies in proportion to the areas of land held by those liable to pay, see LI 3634 1 n.

The amounts of land are in general large. If we set aside a damaged figure which seems to record four hundred and twenty-one and three-quarters aruras (9), the largest is one of nearly two hundred and seventy-four aruras (5) held by a *beneficiarius*, although there is a person with the once lofty title of *perfectissimus* who is credited here with only eight (4). A second *beneficiarius* is assessed on one hundred and thirty-five aruras (6). One *officialis* is assessed on nearly fifty-four aruras (3), another probably on ninety-two aruras (8). Two individuals have the description *ex praepositis* (ἀπὸ πραι(ποσίτων) 14, 16), probably a military title, see 14 n. In the first case the area and the sum are lost, in the second the area is probably more than one hundred aruras, although the damage is so severe that even this is not quite certain.

A sheet join running vertically about 1.5 cm from the right edge shows that the writing runs along the fibres of the recto of the original roll, but there is no way of knowing how extensive the list was to begin with. The format is less detailed than that of P. Herm. Landlisten, where *pagus* numbers and land categories are specified, but no sums of money.

	Ἀμμ]ωνιανός	(ἄρουραι) ροθ (τέταρτον)	(δηναρίων μυριάδες) [
	...]ων	(ἄρ.) ρλγ (τέταρτ.) (ὄγδ.) (έκκαιδέκατον)	(δην.μυρ.) ρ[
	...]θεος ὀφ(φικιάλιος)	τάξ(εως) καθολικ(ῆς)	
		(ἄρ.) νγ (ἡμις) (τέταρτ.) (ὄγδ.) (έκκαιδέκ.)	(δην.μυρ.) ξ[
	...]ν διασημότατος	(ἄρ.) η	(δην.μυρ.) θ[
5	...] β(ενε)φ(ικιάριος)	(ἄρ.) σογ (ἡμ.) (τέταρτ.) (τετρακαιεξηκοστὸν)	(δην.μυρ.) τ[
	Ἀπολ]λώνιος β(ενε)φ(ικιάριος)	(ἄρ.) ρλε'	(δην.μυρ.) ρ[
	...]γένους	(ἄρ.) ρ (τέταρτ.?)	(δην.μυρ.) [
	...]ων ὀφ(φικιάλιος)	[[ἄρ.] ρβ	(δην.μυρ.) ρ[
	...] Ὀριγένους [	(ἄρ.)]υκα (ἡμ.) (τέταρτ.)	(δην.μυρ.) υ[
10	...] γ]υ(νή) Ὀριγένους [	(ἄρ.) πς (ἡμ.) (τέταρτ.) (ὄγδ.)	(δην.μυρ.) ρ[
	...] καὶ Ἐραποδωρ [	(ἄρ.) ροε (ἡμις)'	(δην.μυρ.) [
	...]ανός καὶ ἡ γυ(νή) [
	...] γυ(νή) Γεροντίου [		](δην.μυρ.) [
	...]ς ἀπὸ πραι(ποσίτων) [		](δην.μυρ.) [

15	...] νόσ και 'Υάκινθος	[(ἄρ.) . . .]	(δην.μυρ.) . [
	...] ἀπὸ πραι(ποσίτων)	(ἄρ.) ρ . . "	(δην.μυρ.) [
	...] βοηθ(ός) Ἀλεξάνδρου	(ἄρ.) ρκθ (δυοτριακοστὸν)	(δην.μυρ.) ρ . [
	...] ζ Ζωίλου	(ἄρ.) λβ (ἦμ.) (έκκ.) (δυοτρ.)	(δην.μυρ.) [
	...] α (ἄρ.) λγ (ἦμ.) (τέταρτ.) (δγδ.) (έκκ.) (δυοτρ.)		(δην.μυρ.) [
20	Δη]μαρέως	(ἄρ.) ιγ (ἦμ.)	(δην.μυρ.) ι . [
	...] κεφαλεωτής	(ἄρ.) ριζ (έκκαιδέκ.)	(δην.μυρ.) ρ . [
	...] Ἀμμωνίου [	(ἄρ.) . . .]	(δην.μυρ.) . [

1 d=(τέταρτον), and so throughout of) δ̄=(έκκαιδέκατον), and so usually ξδ=(τετρακαιεξηκοστὸν) [, i.e. the superscript abbreviation mark is lost

2 (a form of) η=(δγδοον), and so throughout; 3 οφ/ταξ/καθολι^κ; L=(ἦμικυ), and so usually 5 βφ/, 6 βφ/ 8 οφ/ 10 γ]ῦ 11 ζ'=(ἦμικυ) 12 γυ (v.)

17 βοη^θ, λ[β]'=(δυοτριακοστὸν) 20 ζ'=(ἦμικυ) 21 ι. κεφαλαιωτής; ι'ζ'=(έκκαιδέκατον)

1 Ἀμμ]ωνιανός. This seems the most likely name in this period. Line 6, where Ἀπολλ]ωνιανός is virtually certain, shows that a restoration shorter than Ἀπολλ]ωνιανός is needed. For less likely possibilities see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* 266.

3 Of the many possibilities for the name, for which see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, op. cit. 220, one of the most likely is Dorotheus and there is a fourth century Flavius Dorotheus *officialis* in XII 1423 3, who is likely to have had some strong connection with Oxyrhynchus. However, although his *officium* is not stated, the person who wrote to him was an *officialis* on the staff of the prefect of Egypt and it seems likely that Dorotheus was from the same *officium*, as the first editors supposed.

There is another *officialis* below in line 8, where the damage has deprived us of his name and probably also of the name of his *officium*.

On the financial administration of Egypt from the fourth century to the sixth, including the post of *rationalis* (καθολικός), which continued under that name longer in Egypt than elsewhere, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 428 and especially R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res priuata* 193-205, cf. id. *CRIPPEL* 10 (1988) 113-138. This *officialis* should be added to the list of subordinate officers D, pp. 135-6. Unnamed colleagues dated to the fourth century only are found in P. Erl. 107.19 and SB XIV 11593.29.

4 διασημότατος. Although this title applied to the highest ranks of equestrian procurators from the late second century, and continued in the same use till past the middle of the fourth, from the late third it was devalued enough to be bestowed on councillors who had performed all the public services in their local city, cf. XLVI 3297 1 n. The area of eight aruras only, by far the smallest amount visible in the remains of the list, suggests that this person was not of exalted rank.

θ[This figure of nine myriads of denarii, which is virtually certain, allows us to calculate that the rate per arura was at least 11,250 denarii, and that it was lower than 12,500 denarii: $9 \div 8 = 1\frac{1}{8}$; $10 \div 8 = 1\frac{1}{4}$.

5-6 β(ενε)φ(ικιάριος). On *beneficiarii* in the papyri see N. B. Rankov, 'Die Beneficiarii in den literarischen und papyrologischen Texten' in E. Schallmayer (ed.), *Der Römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken* (Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 49.1994) pp. 219-232; cf. 4363.

7 ...]γένουος. There are many possible names ending in -γένης, see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* 163-4, but this was probably one of the common ones, Diogenes or Horigenes, preceded by some abbreviated nominative, e.g. κλ(ηρονόμοι) or ἡ γυ(νή), cf. 12, although it looks as if the names of wives were given below in 10 and 13 in similar entries.

8 Cf. 3 n.

9 Here perhaps Ωριγένουος is a patronymic.

10 Cf. 7 n.

11 A Sarapodorus was *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite in 373 (and 374?), see XLVI 3308-3311, but the name is not uncommon and here Sarapodora is also possible.

14 Cf. 16. The title of ἀπὸ πραιποσίτων can certainly denote military status, cf. e.g. P. Abinn. 59.4-5, where it is addressed to Abinnaeus himself; in which case *praepositus* indicates function rather than rank, usually the commander of a vexillation or smaller detachment, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 640, R. E. Smith, *ZPE* 36 (1979) 263-278. It is not clear whether ἀπὸ πραιποσίτων can apply to former *praepositi pagi*, although similar terms, ἀπὸ λογιστῶν and ἀπὸ στρατηγιῶν, suggest the possibility that it might.

20 Δη]μαρέως. The rare name Δημαρέως seems to be the only possibility here, but the long and interesting letter of Aurelius Demareus in VII 1070 is assigned to the third century, and a photograph shows that the writing cannot be as late as this item.

21 κεφαλεωτής (l. -αιωτής). This title has very various uses: it can denote a village official concerned with the collection of taxes in kind, see P. Clair. Isid. 57, R. S. Bagnall, *Stud. Pap.* 17 (1978) 49-54, or in charge of police officers called εἰρήναρχοι (or -άρχαι), see J. Lallemant, *L'Administration civile* 166, cf. 4369 9 and 8-9 n. para. 4, or a guild officer, cf. P. Mert. II 95. None of these offices immediately suggests that the holder might be credited with over one hundred and seventeen aruras of land. Probably a rich guild official from the city of Oxyrhynchus is meant.

4375. ORDER TO SUPPLY WINE

65 6B.31/M(1-2)a

26.5 × 10 cm

5-14 April 365

A lady called Nonna sends an order to an assistant (βοηθός) to provide firstly, a large quantity of wine, thirty-four double cnidia, see 2 n., for her household use, which

however was needed in respect of a journey of the governor, who at this date would have been the *praeses* of Augustamnica. What the circumstances were we can only imagine, see 3 n. Secondly, she ordered two ceramia of wine for herself for use in connection with a festival called a *panegyris*; in view of the fourth century date and the time of year one thinks first of Easter, but Easter Day in 365 fell early, on 27 March, see V. Grumel, *La chronologie* 310.

The document is written along the fibres of the verso on the back of a piece cut from a tax list, see 4374; the tax list was written along the fibres of the recto of its roll, as is shown by a sheet join running vertically near the middle.

π(αρὰ) τῆς Νόννας (vac.) Σερήνω βοθητῶ χ(αίρειν). (vac.)
 παράσχου εἰς τὴν γεουχικὴν οἰκίαν οἴνου κνίδια διπλᾶ τριάκοντα
 τέσσαρες,
 (γίνονται) κνίδια(α) δι(πλᾶ) λδ, χωροῦντα εἰς τὴν ἀποδημίαν τοῦ
 ἡγεμόνος, καὶ ὁμοίως ἐμοὶ ὑπὲρ
 ἑορτικοῦ πανηγύρε[ως κεράμια δύο, (γίνονται) κερ(άμια) β', (γίνονται)
 οἴνο]υ δι(πλᾶ) λδ καὶ κερ(άμια) β [c. 10 letters
 5 (ἔτους) μαζ καὶ ι" Φαρμούθι ι [(m. 2) c. 15 letters ο]ῦ κνίδ(ια)
 δι(πλᾶ) τριάκο[ντα
 * (vac) [] (vac.) τέσσαρ[α
 (vac.) καὶ κερ(άμια) δύο.

1 π', χ⁻ 2 I. τέσσαρα 3 /=(γίνονται), κνιδ δ, ὑπερ 4 δ, κερα 5 L, κνιδ δ 7 κερ'δυσ'

'From Nonna to Serenus, assistant, greetings.'

'Provide for the estate household thirty-four double cnidia of wine, total double cnid. 34, to go towards the journey of the governor, and likewise for me in respect of the festival allowance for the *panegyris* two ceramia, total cer. 2, sum total wine 34 doubles and 2 ceramia ...'

'Year 41 and 10, Pharmuthi 10(+: i.e. 10 to 19)'.
 (2nd hand) '... wine thirty-four double cnidia and two ceramia'.

1 The name Nonna is fairly common, see P. Sta. Xyla pp. 67--70. Two are known from fourth-century Oxyrhynchus, the daughter of Anicetus, P. Genova I 22 (345), and the daughter of Artemidorus, SB IV 7445 (382). There is no indication that either is the same as this one. Since she gives the order to supply wine to the estate household (*γεουχικὴν οἰκίαν* 2), it seems plain that she is the *γεοῦχος*, or possibly one of two or more *γεοῦχοι*.

2 κνίδια διπλᾶ. Cf. XIV 1752 3 (378), XXXIV 2729 11 (IV), SB III 7243.9 = VIII 9746.9 (IV). It appears from XVI 1951 3 (διπλᾶ: in the order), 5 (κνίδια: in the countersignature) that *διπλοῦν* and *κνίδιον* are the same, but this appearance may be due to carelessness in the countersignature. Perhaps it is more probable that *κνίδιον* is the suppressed noun in the measure called *διπλοῦν*, which is common. In 2729 the double cnidium is a jar of that capacity containing base metal currency, cf. R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation* 46. On the uncertainty about the capacity of wine measures see LI 3628 15 n.

3 ἀποδημίαν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. Cf. LV 3805 59 a money payment ὑ(πὲρ) τῆς ἀποδημίας τοῦ ἀρχ(οντος). In that sixth century case the *ἀρχων* is the *praeses* of Arcadia and was presumably based in Oxyrhynchus, the capital of the province. In this case the *ἡγεμών* is the *praeses* of Augustamnica, a much bigger province,

including not only Middle Egypt, like Arcadia, but the eastern half of the Delta with Pelusium, cf. L 3576 introd., 10-12 n. This introduces a certain doubt about the meaning of *ἀποδημία* here. It could refer to a journey away from Oxyrhynchus, which the *praeses Augustamnicae* would have had to visit at least in the course of his duties, or it might refer to a journey out of the provincial capital, which seems more likely to have been Pelusium.

ἑορτικοῦ πανηγύρε[ως. On *πανήγυρις* cf. LV 3812 18 n., citing especially L. Casarico, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 135-62. A date in Pharmuthi suggests Easter, but that fell earlier in 365, see introd. Casarico's list for *πανήγυρις* has no texts referring to Pharmuthi, but her list for ἑορτή gives P. XV Congr. (Pap. Brux. 17) 22 iii 11, 12, possibly mentioning one on 30 Pharmuthi (p. 149), SB VI 9589.15, another possible mention for the month (p. 153), and PSI VII 791.18-20, referring to a payment relating to a sixth-century Oxyrhynchite church ὑ(πὲρ) τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ Φαρμούθι (p. 152), in this case possibly Easter. The tabulation for Pharmuthi in F. Perpillou-Thomas, *Fêtes d'Égypte Ptolémaïque et Romaine*, p. 48, offers no promising reference.

4376. OFFICIAL LETTER

93/Dec. 8/G.1

16 × 10 cm

25 March 368

This is a covering letter from a magistrate of Oxyrhynchus which once accompanied a copy of an order of the prefect of Egypt Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus. It warns the recipient, a private inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus, that he must comply with the provisions of the order.

In spite of some damage to the papyrus on all sides the letter is complete, but it is probable that the original sheet or roll would have had much more depth, and it is likely that the copy of the order was written below. There are also a few traces, nowhere legible, showing that there was another document or column on the right. It may be that the order began there, or it may have begun below the last surviving line and continued into a second column.

The main hand is an upright, none too careful, official cursive. The farewell formula in the magistrate's own hand is a more elegant, sloping, cursive. The writing runs along the fibres of the recto of the original roll, as is shown by a sheet join running vertically near the ends of the lines. The back is blank.

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ[αου]ῆ[ων Λουπικί]γο[υ]
 καὶ Ἰσοῦν[ι]ου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων), Φαμενώθ κθ''.
 Αὐρηλίος Ζωῖλος πολιτευόμενος τῆς λαμ(πράς) Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλεως
 Αὐρηλίω Διονυσίω ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν.

5 Ἴσον τῆς ἐπενεχθείσης προστάξεως ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας
 τοῦ κυρίου [μο]υ [λαμ(προτάτου)] ἐπάρχου τῆς Αἰγύπτου Φλ(αουῦτου)
 Εὐτολμίου

Τατιανοῦ [κατὰ τε σοῦ?] καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Θεώνος ἐξ ὄλο-
 κλήρου [ἐντεταγμένον] ἐπιστέλλεται σοι ἵν' εἰδείης καὶ
 τοῖς [προστεταγμένοις] ἀρμόσῃς. (m. 2) ἐρρώσθαι εὐχόμεαι

10 (vac.?)] (vac.) πολλο[ίς χρόνοις.

2 λαμς 3 λαμφοξυρνυχ (no mark) 5 ἴσον; 1. ἐξουσία 6 φλ' 8 ἴν

'After the consulship of Flavius Lupicinus and Flavius Iovinus, *uiri clarissimi*, Phamenothe 29th.'

'Aurelius Zoilus, *curialis* of the glorious(?) city of the Oxyrhynchites, to Aurelius Dionysius from the same city, greetings. A duplicate of the order delivered by his Highness my lord the prefect of Egypt, Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, *uir clarissimus*, (against you?) and (your?) son Theon, (included?) in full, is communicated to you for your information and so that you may comply with its instructions.'

2nd hand. 'I pray for your health for many years.'

1-2 For the conversion of the date to 25 March 368 see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 99, 113. For the consuls see R. S. Bagnall, etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 269, add P. Wash. Univ. II 82.1.

3 *πολιτευόμενος*. See LI 3627 1 n., P. Heid. IV 313.9 n., CPR VIII 84.3 n., 4379 4, 4381 9, 4383 1, 4393 1.

λαμ(πράς). The title of the city in this period is almost invariably *λαμπρά και λαμπροτάτη*, so much so that we perhaps ought to suspect an oversight by the writer and supply <*και λαμ(προτάτης)*>, see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 281-92, esp. 286-7, 289-90.

6-7 For the well documented career of Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus see C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* 50, R. Delmaire, *Les responsables des finances impériales au Bas-Empire romain* 62-7; add 4377 8-9. On his family see R. Scharf, *ZPE* 85 (1991) 223-231.

The titles found in the papyri which attest him as prefect (VIII 1101, XVII 2110, 4376, 4377) have so far failed to confirm the statement of the *Excerpta Barbari* that he was the first *praefectus Augustalis*, cf. PLRE I 876. Contrast 4382 6-7 (AD 383).

For [*λαμ(προτάτου)*] cf. 4377 8, where it is given in full. Here presumably the clerk wrote *λαμς* as in 2 and 3.

7 [*κατά τε σοῦ?*]. The gap seems too small for *ἐξ ἐντυχίας σοῦ*, for instance, and the instruction to conform in 8-9 suggests that the order was directed against the recipient.

8-9 ἴν' ... ἀρμόσῃς. Cf. XXXIII 2666 19-20 (c. 308/9).

4377-4380. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In R. S. Bagnall, etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 273, the only date clause on papyrus recorded from the year 369 is a post-consular formula of Valentinian and Valens, both for the second time, with the surprising addition of the name of Gratian: P. Strasb. IV 272.1-3. The confusion is not unique, because these three consuls appear in a document of 368: P. Lips. 33 (= ChLA XII 525, where it is stated that the original is now lost). However, already there has appeared a more normal consular formula for the year 369 with the canonical names, Valentinian, the son of Valens, and Flavius Victor, see P. Lond. III 1138 c, published in full by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 200, and a very fragmentary example of a similar post-consular clause for 370 in P. Matrit. 4 has been recognized by Dr Paul Schubert, see *Gnomon* 65 (1993) 188. No day survives in any of these documents; the first three are from Hermopolis, the fourth possibly from Antinoopolis.

Published below are four Oxyrhynchite documents, 4377-80, with versions of the

normal consular clause covering a period from March/April to October/November 369. We can plausibly assume that P. Strasb. 272 dates from early in the year, since Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis are neighbouring nomes.

It is noticeable and disquieting that, although editors of papyrus documents hope to find formulas which will be useful to them for the restoration and understanding of other documents, none of the versions agrees fully with any other. Only 4377 has the epithet *θειοτάτου* before *δεσπότου*; 4378 omits *Φλ(αουίου)* before the name of Victor, probably by inadvertence, although it is possible that 4379 and 4380 could also have done so; 4379 seems not to have had *Αὐγούστου* after the name of Valens and certainly did not have *αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου*; 4380 is the only one to have *αἰωνίου* and the only one to omit *στρατηλάτου* in the titles of Victor. And these are all of the same year and all from Oxyrhynchus! It is less surprising that P. Lond. III 1138 (c) is different, chiefly in adding *νεωτέρου*, 'Junior', after the name of Valentinian, because it is from Hermopolis and the researches of Bagnall and Worp have revealed that different areas of Egypt had characteristically different formulas for their date clauses, cf. *GRBS* 20 (1979) 288-90.

4377. COMMUNICATION FROM A RIPARIUS

100/183(a)

9.5 × 9.5 cm

27 March-25 April 369

This fragment is broken at the right and at the foot. After the date in four lines there follows the beginning of a covering letter of the *riparius*, a senior police official, to the wife and heirs of a man called Isaac, which accompanied a copy of a petition which had been submitted to the prefect of Egypt Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, cf. 4376 6-7 and n. Presumably this petition made charges against the wife and heirs which they were now to be called to answer.

The writing runs along the fibres and the back is blank; there is no sheet join to show that the written side is the recto of the roll from which the sheet was cut.

ὑπατε[ί]ας Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου

υἱοῦ τοῦ θειοτάτου δεσπότου ἡ[μῶν] Οὐάλεντος

(m. 2) Αὐγούστου (m. 1) καὶ Φλ(αουίου) Οὐϊκτωρος τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου)

στρατηλάτου

Φαρμο[ῦ]θ[ι] (day).

(m. 3) Αὐρήλιος Διογένης ῥιπά [ριος] Ὁξυρνυχίτου

6 κληρο[ν]όμοις Ἰσακ 'καὶ τῇ γυναικ[ί] ἀπὸ τῆς ἀ[ῦ]της πόλεως χαίρειν.

ἴσον τοῦ ἐπενεχθέντος μοι λιβ[έ]λλου ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ

κυρίου μου λαμπροτάτου ἐ[πά]ρχ[ου] τῆς Αἰγύπτου Φλ(αουίου) Εὐτολμίου

Τ]ατιανοῦ ἐξ ἐντυχίας τῶν ἐν [c. 20 letters ἀκολου-

10 θ][ου]ως τοῖς ἀποφανθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ[
 ...[...][...][...][...][...][...][...][...][...]

3 φλ' 6 ἰσακ 7 ἰσον 9 ἰ. ἐντυχίας 10 τοῖς: τοῖ corr.

'In the consulship of Valentinian, the most noble son of our most divine master Valens (2nd hand) Augustus, (1st hand) and of Flavius Victor, *uir clarissimus, magister (equitum)*, Pharmuthi (day).'

(3rd hand) 'Aurelius Diogenes, *riparius* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the heirs of Isaac, and to (his?) wife, from the same city, greetings. A duplicate of the petition delivered to me by his Highness my lord prefect of Egypt, Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, *uir clarissimus*, arising from the application of the ... in conformity with the judgements pronounced by the ...'

1-3 Cf. 4377-80 introd. For the consuls see R. S. Bagnall, etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 273.

1-2 το[υ ἐπιφανεστάτου] υἱοῦ. This gives us a standard for the length of the line, since nothing can stand between ἐπιφανεστάτου and υἱοῦ.

For ἐπιφανεστάτος as the standard epithet and the equivalent of Latin *nobilissimus* see XLIII 3121 8 n., J. C. Shelton, *ZPE* 18 (1975) 308.

2 θειοτάτου occurs at this point in the formula only here, although it is fairly well known as an epithet applied especially to emperors, cf. LV 3812 19 n.

2-3 Οὐάλεντος] Αἰγούστου. So 4378 2; 4380 2-3 has Οὐάλεντος αἰωνίου [Αἰγούστου, and it is possible that αἰωνίου could have stood at the end of line 2 here. The short restoration is preferred because only fourteen letters are likely to be missing at the end of line 1, see above 1-2 n., and in line three the likely restoration, with λαμ(προτάτου) abbreviated, requires only fifteen letters, whereas the long restoration here, with αἰωνίου, would bring the figure up to nineteen letters at the end of 2. All this is complicated by the fact that Αἰγούστου here is written rather faintly, in a more sloping style and seemingly with a thinner pen. The slope is similar to that of lines 5-11, but the hands do not look the same. It seems that the date clause, including the month name but not necessarily the day number, was written first. However, a gap was left for the title and possibly the name of the emperor to be filled in later. Yet another clerk wrote the body of the document. On this sort of advance formatting of official documents see LIV 3731 introd. and R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 115.

In 4379 it seems that neither αἰωνίου nor Αἰγούστου was added after the name of Valens.

3 λαμ(προτάτου). The length of the restoration required in line 1, see 1-2 n., suggests that this word was abbreviated, as it visibly was in 4378, 4379, and 4380.

4 Pharmuthi is equivalent to 27 March-25 April, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 99. P. Strasb. 272, dated to this year by a garbled post-consular formula, is likely to date from before 4377, i.e. at latest before Pharmuthi 30=25 April, 369.

5 Aurelius Diogenes has appeared as one of a pair of *riparii*, with a colleague called Aurelius Sarmates, in XLVIII 3393 of AD 365.

For the office of *riparius*, here a senior police official, see P. Harris II 218.2 n.

7 ἐπενεχθέντος. I think that the clerk wrote ἐν-, although ἐπενεχθέντος is the inevitable common form.

8-9 For this prefect of Egypt see 4376 6-7 n.

9 τῶν ἐν. [It is hard to guess who the plaintiffs might have been, perhaps grandchildren of Isaac, i.e. restore ἐγγόνων (l. ἐγγόνων)?

9-10 After the mention of the petitioners we perhaps need ἐπιπέλλεται ὑμῖν ἢ ἀκολουθ][ου]ως τοῖς ἀποφανθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ [, '(a duplicate) ... is sent to you, so that, in conformity with the judgements delivered by ... (you may do something appropriate)'. The restorations get longer in the body of the document, because the writing becomes more rapid and compressed: lines 6, 7 and 8 seems plausibly restored with 17, 22 and 29 letters respectively. Line 9 would need more than 24 letters on this reconstruction, 28 with the supplement suggested in 9 n.

The judgements were probably delivered by the prefect, e.g. ὑπὸ τοῦ [αὐτοῦ κυρίου μου λαμ(προτάτου) ἐπάρχου.

10 θ][ου]ως. Before omega the remains seem to show upsilon cut by an oblique stroke running upwards

to the right. There is a trace of the previous letter, which I take to have been omicron also deleted. It would be an understandable error for the clerk to have repeated the diphthong of the previous syllable.

4378. SCRAP WITH CONSULAR DATE

95/1(a)

13.5 × 3 cm

13 May 369

This is a narrow strip, blank on the back, from the top of a document. The writing runs along the fibres of the recto, as is proved by a sheet join running vertically c. 4 cm from the left edge.

ὑπα]τείας Οὐαλεντινιαν[οῦ] το[υ] ἐπιφ[ανεστάτου υἱοῦ τοῦ
 δεσπό]του ἡμῶν Οὐάλεντος Αἰγούστου καὶ <Φλαουτίου> Οὐτίκτωρος τοῦ
 λαμ(προτάτου)

] (vac.) στρατηλάτου, Παχῶν ιη. (vac.)

c. 35-40 letters τ]η[ς] λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρρυγ-

5 [χιτῶν πολεως

2 οὐτίκτωρος, λαμς'

4 λαμς (bis), οξυρρυγ'

'In the consulship of Valentinian, the most noble son of our master Valens Augustus, and of (Flavius) Victor, *uir clarissimus, magister (equitum)*, Pachon 18th.'

'... of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites ...'

1-3 Cf. 4377 1-3 n.

2 The absence of Φλαουτίου before the second consul's name seems to be mere inadvertence.

It is visibly absent before the name of Valentinian Junior in 4377, 4378, and P. Matrit. 4. In the other three texts the place is in lacuna (4379, 4380, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 200), so that there remains some possibility that one or more of them had it in abbreviated form. Honorius as *nobilissimus puer* does have Flavius in the two papyrus texts which mention his consulship, XXXIV 2715 (386) and SB XIV 11285 (387). It does not seem to be possible at the moment to deduce any rules for the presence or absence of the *nomen* with the names of members of the imperial families.

3 Pachon 18=13 May, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 100.

4 For these honorific epithets of the city see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 281-92.

4-5 Ὁξυρρυγ|[χιτῶν πόλεως: οξυρρυγ' pap. See E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*² 11 (=113) for the apostrophe between consonants.

4379. LEASE OF LAND

85/27(b)

8 × 14.5 cm

3 September 369

The top and parts of fourteen lines written along the fibres survive, but no sheet join to prove that the written side is the recto. The back is blank.

The terms of the lease are largely lost: all we learn is that the duration was to be

one year only, that the amount of land was somewhat over one arura, and that the lessee was to be allowed to sow it with whatever crops he chose.

ὑπατείας Οὐαλεντιν]ιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου
 υἱοῦ τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμ]ῶν Οὐάλεντος
 καὶ Φλ(αουτίου) Οὐίκτηρος το]ῦ λαμ(προτάτου) στρατηλάτου, Θῶθ 5.
 Ἀὐρηλίω c. 10 letters] . ιου πολιτευομένω
 5 τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυ]ρρυγχειτῶν πόλεως
 παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίου c. 5 Π]αζαλύμιος ἀπὸ κώμης Σεφῶ
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ χαιρειν. ἔ]κουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώ-
 κασθαι πρὸς μόνον τὸ ἐνεσθ]ς μςς'' ιες'' τῆς εὐτυχοῦς
 ιγ ἰνδικτίωνος ἐκ τῶν ὑπ]αρχόντ[ων] σοι περὶ
 10 πρακτορείαν τῆς α]ὐτῆς κώμης [ἐ]κ τοῦ Σημίου
 c. 15 letters τὸ κ]ατὰ σὲ τρίτον [μέρ]ος ἄρουραν
 μίαν c. 5-10 ἐκκαιδέ]κατον δυοτρι[άκοστον ὥστε ταύτας
 σπεῖραι καὶ ξυλαμῆσαι οἷς ἐ]ὰν αἴρωμα[ι c. 10 letters
 c. 20 letters] . ακτο[

3 λαμς'' 5 l. Ὁξυρρυγχειτῶν

'In the consulship of Valentinian, the most noble son of our master Valens, and of Flavius Victor, *uir clarissimus, magister (equitum)*, Thoth 6th.'

'To Aurelius ... son of ... inus *curialis* of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius ... son of Pasalymis from the village of Sepho (of the same nome?), greetings. Willingly I undertake to hold on lease for the present year 46 (and) 15 of the auspicious 13th indiction only from your property in the taxation district of the same village from the allotment of Semius (or Simias?) ... being your third share, one arura (and ...) and a sixteenth and a thirty-second, so as to sow and plant these with whatever crops I choose ...'

2-3 The inevitable restorations in 1 and 3 indicate that there were no titles after the name of Valens, cf. 4377 2-3 n.

3 Thoth 6th = 3 September, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 96.

4 It is possible that we should restore here Ἀὐρηλίω Καρμάτη Πτολε]μίονος, cf. 4383 4 of 384. The trace suits mu very well.

πολιτευομένω. Cf. 4376 3 n.

5 On the titles of the city cf. 4378 4 n.

6 Ἀὐρηλίου. On Aurelius as the predominant status designation for lessees see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 13 (1974) 287-8. The lessee's name is lost.

7 τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. Or alternatively restore τοῦ ἐβδόμου πάγου, cf. XLIV 3194 5.

8 For the Oxyrhynchite eras see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *op. cit.* 36-42; 46 and 15 is 369/370, making it clear that the lease is for the current year, which was a 13th indiction, cf. *ibid.* 76. It is also made clear that the date clause in 1-3 cannot be restored as a postconsular formula.

9-10 περὶ [πρακτορείαν. So P. Lond. III 1138 (c), *ZPE* 79 (1989) 200, but that is from the Hermopolite nome and there are no parallels in Oxyrhynchite documents.

10 ἐ]κ τοῦ Σημίου. Cf. SB VI 9502.15 ἐκ τοῦ Σημίου καὶ Καλ]. This relates to the village of Seryphis in the western toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 171, later in the third or the sixth pagus, LV 3795 13 n., whereas here it refers to Sepho, in the Thmoesepho toparchy, later in the seventh pagus, see Pruneti, *op. cit.* 176. In view of the rarity of the name, Σήμιος (or Σιμίος?, cf. F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen* p. 114 No. 325, from BGU VI 1251.14), it seems likely that the same cleruch held allotments in both places. His partner Καλ] may also have appeared in this passage, i.e. it might be correct to restore ἐ]κ τοῦ Σημίου [καὶ Καλ c. 5 letters κλήρου τὸ κ]ατὰ σὲ τρίτον[ν μέρ]ος.

12 After μίαν we could restore ἡμισυ, τέταρτον, or ὄγδοον, all of them part of the same series as one sixteenth, one thirty-second; perhaps δέμοιρον, two-thirds, is also possible. The full inheritance must have amounted to three times the amount specified.

13-14 It is tempting to restore a phrase common in Oxyrhynchite leases of an earlier date: χωρὶς ἰσάτε|¹⁴ ως καὶ ὄχομενίου, φόρου ἀπο]τάκτο[ν ...], 'apart from woad and safflower, at a fixed rent ...' etc., cf. IV 729 31 (137), PSI IX 1036.7-8 (192), SB X 10263.10-11 (205), XXXI 2584 12 (211), P. Oxy. Hels. 41.14-15 (223/4), PSI XIII 1330.10-11 (3rd cent.). There are several similar examples where the wording is not precisely the same, but the latest yet found of those which are comparable is XIV 1689 14-17 of 266. Nevertheless, it seems quite possible that this clause did survive for another hundred years. The force of it has been explained by D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 85-96, who argued convincingly that these vegetable dyestuffs, being under government control, were subject to special conditions disagreeable to some landlords. Government control of weaving establishments and dyeshops is attested well into the Byzantine period, see e.g. A. H. M. Jones, ii 836-7; cf. the sixth century letter P. Hamb. III 228, which attests a functionary called a *μοισπωλάριος* in connection with woad production, see there line 4 n. Several fourth century texts mention woad, mostly in ways which make it plain that a government levy is concerned, see VII 1052 19 (before 362: see 1057), XLVIII 3428 19, LVI 3874 20, P. Ross.-Georg. III 6.5, P. Laur. III 83.1, cf. J. Gascoy, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 257-8.

4380. NOMINATION TO A PUBLIC SERVICE

83/36(b)

7.5 × 10.5 cm

28 October-26 November 369

This scrap has the top and ends of nine lines written across the fibres; the back is blank as far as can be seen, but it is badly damaged by the stripping of the horizontal fibres. Although the text is that of a formal official document, the unusual format may indicate that this version is only a preliminary one, cf. 3 n.

The formula *δίδομεν καὶ εἰσαγγέλλομεν τῷ ἰδίῳ ἡμῶν κινδύνῳ* shows that the document is a nomination to a public service. On such nominations in the fourth century see J. Frösén in CPR VII pp. 74-8: add P. Prag. I 15-16, LI 3621, 3623, LIV 3774, P. Harris II 213, 216, PSI XVII Congr. 28. Frösén's list shows that it is rare for a nomination to be submitted to a strategus: only XII 1426 is addressed to a strategus (cf. XLIII 3127 4 n.), and he is preceded there by the *curator* and *defensor*. Unfortunately the damage here makes it as yet difficult to see what the position of the nominators was and to what public service they were nominating.

The strategus is the latest known for the Oxyrhynchite nome, see 4 n.

ὑπατείας Οὐαλεντι]νιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου
 υἱοῦ τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμ]ῶν Οὐάλεντος αἰωνίου
 Ἀγούστου καὶ Φλ(αουτίου) Ο]ὐίκτηρος τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου), Ἀθύρ'.
 c. 15 letters] . . στρατηγῶ Ὁξυρρυχ(ίτου)

5 παρὰ Ἀρηλίων c. 5] . ἰωνος Θωνίου καὶ
 c. 12 letters καὶ] Ἡρακλείου Εὐσταθίου
 c. 15 letters] . . γενομέν . . κεφαλαιωτ[. .
 c. 15 letters] . . ρς. δίδομεν κ[αὶ
 εἰσαγγέλλομεν τῶ ἰδίῳ] ἡμῶν κινδύ[νω

3 λαμβανθρ' 4 οξυργχ

'In the consulship of Valentinian, the most noble son of our master Valens, perpetual Augustus, and of Flavius Victor, *uir clarissimus*, Hathyr.'

'To ..., strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii ... son of Thonis and ... and Heraclius son of Eustathius ... former headmen(?) ... We present and introduce at our own risk ...'

1-3 This formula is the only one for this year certainly to have the fuller form *αἰωνίου Αβγούστου* after the name of Valens, cf. 4377 2-3 n., and the only one to omit *στρατηλάτου* from the titles of Flavius Victor, cf. 4377-4380 introd. On the consuls cf. 4377 1-3 n.

3 Ἀθύρ'. This is the equivalent of 28 October-26 November 369, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 97, cf. 76. No day was given, which is unusual, although it is common for a document to begin with the consular formula only and end with an allusion back to this, e.g. *ὑπατείας τῆς προκειμένης*, followed by month and day. It is possible that this was a draft, as the format may suggest, see introd.

4] . . στρατηγῶ. Since one document in Frösén's list in CPR VII p. 75 is addressed to a *νυκτοστράτηγος* of Hermopolis (P. Lips. 65 = W. Chr. 404 of 390) and the *κεφαλαιωτ[*- of 7 might possibly relate to policemen, see 4369 8-9 n. para. 4, and cf. P. München III 69.2 καὶ νυκτοστρατήγοις καὶ κεφαλαιω[ταῖς (AD 342), the attempt has been made to read *νυκ[τοστρατήγῳ* here, but comparison of the group kappa tau omicron in *Οὐκτορος* (3) seems to make that reading very unlikely. The traces might suit]νω. Before this name there would have been a *nomen*, probably Ἀρηλίω.

This is the latest known Oxyrhynchite strategus, cf. G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 106, where the last one mentioned dates from 357; see now also P. Wash. Univ. II 82, of 367, where the addressee was probably a *στρατηγῶ Ὀξυρρυγχίτου*, whose name is lost. An assistant of the strategus is named in VII 1057 of 362. In other places *strategi* are attested down to the 390s, see J. Whitehorne, in *ANRW* II 10.1, p. 615.

7-8 The damaged remains at the end of *γενομέν . .* occupy a comparatively short space, but nevertheless it seems much easier to suppose that the text had *γενομένων κεφαλαιωτῶν* rather than *γενομένου κεφαλαιωτοῦ*, since it is difficult to see how to make a convincing transition from the three people named to a description of a single person, even if we assume that there was an intermediary introduced by *διά*. Before *γενομένων* the most likely is another name and patronymic: to restore *τῶν πάντων* or *τῶν τριῶν* would leave a difficult short gap to be restored in 7. How to restore line 8, ending in *-ος*, perhaps in *-ιος*, is also a problem.

Most of the *κεφαλαιωταί* attested for the Oxyrhynchite nome are connected with police work, where there is any indication of their function, see 4369 8-9 n. Village *κεφαλαιωταί* are mostly known from early fourth century Caranis, see R. S. Bagnall, *Studia Papyrologica* 17 (1978) 49-54. Guild *κεφαλαιωταί* are known from the fifth century, see P. Merton I 42.6, II 95.1.

Since these are described as being out of office and since the month is Hathyr, the second of the Egyptian year, it may be that they were here making a late nomination of their successors, see LXI 4128 introd.

4381. PROCEEDINGS BEFORE A COMES AEGYPTI

35 4B.65/J(1) and (2)

66 x 22 cm

3 August 375

These proceedings took place on 3 August 375 at Alexandria in camera (*in secretario*, 1) before an officer called Flavius Mauricius, who had the titles *u(ir) c(larissimus) com(es)*

ord(inis) prim(i) et dux (3, 11). The place and the titles make it absolutely clear that he was the *comes rei militaris Aegypti*, the highest military authority in Egypt, commonly referred to as the *dux Aegypti*. These are the only extant proceedings before a *dux*. On the military command in Egypt in this period see especially R. Rémondon, *CE* 40 (1965) 180-197, cf. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 609. This Flavius Mauricius was previously known from a building inscription from Syene with a dedication to Valentinian, Valens and Gratian, and consequently datable in the years 367-375, recently reedited with a photograph by E. Bernand, *ZPE* 82 (1990) 180-181, Taf. VIb. In A. H. M. Jones etc., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* i, he appears on p. 570 as v.c., *comes et dux* (in Thebais) and on p. 1120 as v.c., *comes et dux* (*Thebaidos*), which turns out not to be correct. The same man may have appeared also in the fragmentary ChLA XII 523 as *c[l]arissim[i] Mauricii*, see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 101 n. 1.

It is possible that he is the same as the 'local *dux*' who had an iambic poem written in his honour by a poet named by the manuscript of Photius, *Bibliotheca* 279 ad fin. (535b; ed. Budé viii 187-8), as *Κύρου Ἀντιοπολίτου*, see Alan Cameron, *Claudian* 23. Photius found in the same *τεῦχος* as a chrestomathy by an Antinoite, which he excerpts at length, various other works by Egyptian authors, including at the end, *ἀλλὰ καὶ Κύρου Ἀντιοπολίτου εἰς Μαυρίκιον δοῦκα καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα παρόντα τῇ ἀκροάσει. ἐν ἰαμβικῶ δὲ μέτρῳ καὶ οὗτος τὸν αὐτοῦ συντίθει πόνον. εἰς δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ διάφοροι πρὸς διαφόρους, γραφαῖς ποικιλλόμεναι διαφόροις, καὶ ἕτεροὶ τινες ἐγκωμιαστικοὶ λόγοι.* The first bit of this should mean, so far as the text is correct, '... and also (a work) of Cyrus of Antipolis(?) on Mauricius, *dux*, and on the *praeses* (*Thebaidos*?), who was present at the recital', rather than '... sur le duc Maurice, un général, qui l'avait écouté en personne' (Budé). Cameron calls him Cyrus of Antinoupolis, tacitly emending to *Ἀντι(ν)ο(ου)πολίτου*, which is probably best, considering that the principal author was from there and most of the others mentioned were from its neighbour Hermopolis, but one of the others was Horapollon of Panopolis, so *Ἀντ(α)ιοπολίτου*, which is more attractive palaeographically, may be a possibility. Antaeopolis, between Hermopolis and Panopolis, is of course a far more obscure place than the others. There is certainly no reason to think that there is a corruption so severe that this might be a reference to the much more famous Cyrus of Panopolis (so Seeck, *RE* XII col. 188, s.v. Kyros 11). This Cyrus reached the consulship in 441, so that there could be no such connection between him and the Mauricius of these proceedings. However, if our *dux* and that one are the same, the Cyrus in Photius is datable to c. 375, cf. already Cameron, *Claudian* p. 4, n. 7 '(date uncertain, but probably of the fourth century)'.
 The judge is the *dux* because the plaintiffs are soldiers, cf. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* i 487-8 on military courts. Although they were Mauri Scutarii stationed in Lycopolis in the Thebaid, just as in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Or. XXXI 23, they owned a camel stable in Oxyrhynchus, looked after by their dependants (*διαφέροντες*), from whom the local collectors tried to exact the trade tax known as *collatio lustralis*, payable in gold and silver bullion and therefore called here and elsewhere *χρυσάργυρον*. The soldiers claimed

that they were not liable and asked for their right of exemption to be maintained by order of the *dux* and through the local authorities of Oxyrhynchus.

The proceedings took place in camera because the business was to give a written judgement in reply to a petition. Neither the defendants nor the petitioners were present and there are no advocates' speeches. After the date and location comes a request from the staff of the *dux* for permission to read the petition, and the *dux* gives the instruction for it to be read and inserted in the record. All this is in Latin. Then the petition is read and recorded in Greek, to be followed by the judgement in Latin. This may have done no more than authorize the pursuit of the case in another court, see XVI 1876 introd.

It would be interesting to know what procedure lies behind this formal record. Was the matter considered fully only by the ducal staff, and the answer drafted in advance, so that the *dux* really did only attend for the recorded reading of the petition by the staff and his own reading of the prepared judgement? Or did he take part in discussion on this occasion or another?

It is interesting to compare the language of the opening of these proceedings, as well as those in XVI 1876-9, with part of the acts of the martyrs Agape, Irene and Chione, supposed to have taken place in the spring of 304, see H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, 282 (Ch. 3): προκαθίσαντος Δουληκτιίου ἡγεμόνος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, Ἀρτεμήςιος κομενταρήσιος εἶπεν, 'ὅποῖαν νοτωρίαν περὶ τῶν παρεστώτων τούτων ὁ ἐνθάδε στατιωνάριος ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς τὴν σὴν τύχην, εἰ κελεύεις, ἀναγινώσκω.' Δουληκτιίος ἡγεμόνων εἶπεν, 'ἀνάγνωθι.' καὶ ἐκ τῆς τάξεως ἀνεγνώσθη, 'σοὶ τῷ ἐμῷ δεσπότη Κάσσανδρος βενεφικιάριος. κτλ.' T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire* 159, 182, cf. 187, accepts Dulcitius as a genuine *praeses Macedoniae* of 304. If the wording is genuinely modelled on proceedings of that date, then the evidence for this format is carried back for another seventy years. Note that Grenfell and Hunt considered their fifth century examples as early precursors of the system of Justinian, see XVI p. 69.

In spite of damage at the foot which has made the judgement irrecoverable and another largish patch which most affects the end of line 3, this papyrus is a splendid example of proceedings of the later type with a framework of Latin around a core of Greek, cf. LI 3619 introd.; add to the list *Tyche* 5 (1990) 41-3, 6 (1991) 88-90, 4371, 4381. The first part of the consular date is particularly hard to read because of the very elaborately stylized letters, as in XVI 1878 (461), 1879 (434), illustrated *ibid.* Pl. I & II.

There are three sheet joins, one at c. 7 cm from the left hand edge, the next at c. 28.5 cm and the third at c. 50 cm, with c. 16 cm to the right of the third join. The two complete sheets in the middle measure c. 21.5 cm each between the edges of the recto joins, with c. 2 cm of each hidden beneath the overlap from the left. On the back, downwards along the fibres, there is an endorsement in Greek labelling the document as an order (πρόσταξις) of the *dux*.

post cons(ulatum) d(omini) n(ostris) Gratiani per(petui) Aug(usti) iii et Equitio u(iri) c(larissimi) com(itis) die iii non(as) Aug(ustas) Alex(andrae) in secretario. [(vac.)?] (vac.)

ex offic(io) d(ictum) est, 'cuiusmodi libellum Pelion duc(enarius) publice magnitudine[m] tuae obtulerit prae manibus habentes [reci]tamus, si praecipis'. (vac.)

Fl(auius) Mauricius, u(ir) c(larissimus), com(es) ord(inis) prim(i) et dux, d(ixit), 'legatur et actis indatur'. (vac.) ex offic(io) rec(itatum) est, 'παρὰ Φλ(αουτῶν) Πηλίωνος δουκηναρίου καὶ Γούνθου κ[10-15 letters ἀρι]θμοῦ

Μαύρων Κυρταρίων τῶν ἐν Λύκων πόλει διακειμένων ὑπὸ Παῦλον πραιπόσιτον. πάσει μὲν βοηθεῖν εἴωθεν ἢ εἰ ἐξουσία, δοῦξ κύριε, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ἡμῖν τοῖς στρα[τιώτα]ις τοῖς καὶ μετὰ [τοὺς χρό]γους

5 κ[α]τ[α]μένουσιν. τὸ οὖν καθ' ἡμᾶς πρᾶγμα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. τινὲς βίαιοι καὶ θρασεῖς καὶ τῶν νόμων ἀφροντιστοῦντες, ἡμῶν τῆ στρατία σχολαζόντων, βίαν οὐ τὴν τυχ[οῦσα]ν πεποιήκασι τ[οῖς ἡμ]ετέροις

ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀξυρυχιτῶν. μήτε γὰρ χωρεία ἡμῶν κεκτημένων μήτε γῆδια μήτε μὴν καμήλους, ἤσχυσαν, ἡμῶν, ὡς προείπον, ἀπόντων, ὑπὲρ χρυσαργύρου εἶσαι τοὺς ἡμ[ε]τεροὺς διαφέροντας, ὃ [οὐδ]ε[π]ώποτε

ἀπαιτήμεθα ταύτης ἕνεκεν τῆς προφάσεως. τόπον δὲ παντελῶς κεκτήμεθα ἐπὶ τῆς προειρημένης πόλεως ἔνθα τύπῳ καμηλῶντος εἰς ἡμετέραν χρε[ῖα]ν ἔχοντες. ἐπεὶ [τοίνυν] εὐλαβῶς

ἔχομεν μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ πάλιν πάθωσιν οἱ ἡμῖν διαφέροντες παρὰ τῶν τῆν ἀπαίτησιν ἐνχειρουμενων, καταφεύγομεν ἐπεὶ τὸ σὸν μέγεθος, ἀξιοῦντες καὶ δε[όμενοι] ὅπως καταξιώσῃς

προστάξει προνοία Κρησκεντίωνος τοῦ ἐπιτεταγμένου τῆ εἰρήνῃ 'καὶ Θεοδούλου τοῦ πολιτευομένου τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως' τοὺς τῆν φροντίδα τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρυσαργύρου διοικοῦντας τοῦ λοιποῦ κωλύσαι ἢ ποιῶνται κατὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀλόγου ἀπαιτήσεως,

10 ἵνα δυνηθῶμεν ἀμέμπτως τῆ στρατία ἐξυπηρετήσασθαι, ὅπως τούτου τυχόντες χάριτας τὰς μεγίστας τῆ λαμπρᾶ σου τύχῃ ὁμολογήσαι δυνηθῶμεν, δοῦξ κύριε. (vac.)

Fl(auius) Mauricius, u(ir) c(larissimus) com(es) ord(inis) prim(i) et dux, d(ixit), 'si null[...],...[...],... as exer[c. 10 pos]sessiones [c. 10]ene...qm[c. 20 argent[5-10]....[

Back, downwards along the fibres: πρόσταξις τοῦ κυρίου μου δουκός.

1 cons/dn, peraugii; 1. Equitii; uccom, nonaugalex. 2 officdest, duc.; 1. magnitudini 3 fl/, uccomordprim, d/, offic*recest*, φλ 4 1. Κυρταρίων, πάσι 5 1. στρατεία 6 1. χωρία, ἴσχυσαν,

προείπομεν, *céσαι* 7 l. ἀπητήμεθα; καμηλώνος: -ηλώνος corr. 8 l. ἐγχειρισμένων, ἐπί 10 ἴνα;
l. στρατεία, χάρτας 11 ff, *ucomordprim, d/*

'After the consulship of our master Gratian, perpetual Augustus, for the third time, and of Equitium, *uir clarissimus, comes*, on the third day before the nones of August, at Alexandria, in the *secretarium*.'

'Spoken from the *officium*: "Having in our hands a petition in the form which Pelion, *ducenarius*, submitted to your Highness in public, we shall recite it, if you so command".'

'Flavius Mauricius, *uir clarissimus, comes* of the first rank, and *dux*, said, "Let it be read and entered in the records".'

'Recited from the *officium*: "From Flavius Pelion, *ducenarius*, and Flavius Gunthus, (*centenarius* or *circitor*?) of the *numerus* of Mauri Scutarii stationed in Lycopolis under Paulus, *praepositus*. It is your Highness's custom to help all people, lord *dux*, but especially us soldiers, who are staying on even after our term of service. Our case, then, is of this kind. Certain persons, violent and audacious and disregarding the laws, while we were occupied with military service, have inflicted violence of no ordinary kind on our people in Oxyrhynchus. For although we possess no vineyards(?) or (arable?) lands or indeed camels, they were powerful enough, while we were absent, as I (*sic*) said before, to practise extortion on those who belong to us in respect of the gold and silver trade levy, which we have never had exacted from us on this pretext. We do possess, certainly, a property in the aforesaid city there in the shape of a camel stable which we hold for our own use. Since, therefore, we are taking care that those who belong to us may not suffer the same thing again from those to whom the exaction is entrusted, we flee for refuge to your Highness, requesting and beseeching that you condescend to give orders to restrain for the future, through the attention of Crescentio, who has been placed in charge of the peace, and of Theodulus, *curialis* of the same city, those who conduct the administration of the same gold and silver trade levy from the unreasonable exaction which they are imposing on our people, in order that we may be able to carry out our military service without blame, so that, when we secure this, we may be able to acknowledge our very great thanks to your glorious fortune, lord *dux*,"'

'Flavius Mauricius, *uir clarissimus, comes* of the first rank, and *dux*, said, "If no ... possessions ... silver ...".'

Back: 'Order of my lord *dux*.'

1 For the conversion of the date see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 101, 114, cf. R. S. Bagnall, etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 282-5.

For the writing of *post cons(ulatum)* compare XVI 1878 1 (Plate I).

Equitio (l. *Equiti*). Although 'i' is written with a strangely curved stroke in this style, it seems certain that this is a complete circle and that the writer made a natural mistake in the case.

Above *uc* there are puzzling remains of ink, which look rather like an *o* made of two facing concave arcs which do not meet accurately at the bottom. There is damage along the upper edge.

2-3 It is noteworthy that the speeches from the *officium* and from the presiding official are given in Latin, not Greek. On the use of the two languages see P. Berl. Zilliacus 4 introd. pp. 33-4. This is close to the period of greatest Latin influence in the mid-fourth century, but another consideration is that the court is that of a *dux*, since Latin was always the language of the Roman army.

2 *Pelion*. Cf. 3 *Πηλώνος*. This name has not been traced elsewhere. It might be a version of *Πηλείων*, in allusion to Achilles.

duc(enarius), cf. 3 *δουκηναρίου*. On this cavalry rank see P. Abinn. p. 15, and n. 4, cf. p. 9. The passage of Jerome cited on p. 15 gives the downwards ranking as *tribunus, primicerius, senator, ducenarius, centenarius, biarchus, circitor, eques, tiro*. The note says that these ranks occur in 'the irregular formations of oriental cavalry', cf. below 3-4.

3 κ[. The traces are a high loop leaning to the left and a speck at a fairly low level, which would suit a kappa as in the *καί* just preceding. In the gap we need the rank of Gunthus, which ought to be below that of *ducenarius*, see previous note. The traces suggest κ[εντηναρίου, cf. e.g. BGU XII 2141.5-6 *κεντηναρίω [τ]ῶν ... γενναιστάτων Μαύρων*, or κ[ερκίτωρος. In the papyri the *circitor* is referred to in P. Neph. 33.22 (*κεκίτωρ* (*sic*); IV), P. Lond. V 1889 verso 4 (*κερκητόρων*; VI), and as doubtful readings in P. Dura 82 (= R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records* 47=ChLA VII 337) 17, 17; 88 (=Fink 49=ChLA VII 343).2. A new example is announced for a forthcoming volume of CPR, see B. Palme, *Neue Papyri zum Spättrömischen Heerwesen*, in the volume of abstracts for the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists (Copenhagen, 23-29 August 1992) p. 39. I am grateful to Dr Palme for showing me a draft edition of the text (P. Vindob. G. 14805; V/VI, where the word is spelled *κερκίτωρ* (20, 21), and for allowing me to refer to it in advance of publication.

3-4 ἀριθμὸς Μαύρων *Κουταρίων* (l. *Κουταρίων*) τῶν ἐν Λύκων πόλει. Cf. O. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum* p. 64, Or. XXXI 23-24 *Cuneus Equitum Maurorum scutariorum*, Lico (=Lycopolis)/*Cuneus equitum* (Maurorum) *scutariorum*, Hermupoli. For the addition of Maurorum for the Hermopolite detachment see D. Hoffmann, *Die Spättrömische Bewegungsheer* 171, 249 ii 62 n. 412 (add BGU XII 2138-2141, 2144-6, 2160, 2167, 2171; LX 4084), 103 n. 447, cf. F. Mitthof, *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists* 260-262. On their equipment and tactics see M. P. Speidel, *Antiquités Africaines* 29 (1993) 121-6, esp. 126.

ἀριθμός is the equivalent of *numerus*, as applied to ethnic auxiliary forces, cf. BGU XII 2137.4 *νομι]έρο[υ Μα]ύρων Λύκων πόλεως*. In BGU XII the Hermopolite detachment is sometimes called *νοόμερος*, 2138 4, 2140.5, sometimes *ἀριθμός*, 2139.6, 2160.4.

4-5 τοῖς καὶ μετὰ [τοὺς χρό]νους κα[τα]μένονσκν. There is some uncertainty about the reading, but it is very suitable to the traces. For a tendency to stay on, particularly among more senior non-commissioned officers than these two, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 635, ii 1265 n. 60.

6 The distinction between *χωρία* and *γῆδια* is not clear. Perhaps *χωρία* are here *χ. ἀμπελικά*, as often, while *γῆδια* are parcels of arable land, cf. LV 3804 34 n.

ὡς προεῖπον. Logically we require *ὡς προεῖπομεν*. The error would be an easy one either in drafting or in copying.

χρυσαργύρου. This was a tax on traders, *negotiatores*, cf. 4393 13-14 n. The petitioners had no camels, see this line, but they had premises which looked like, possibly were designed as, a camel stall, see 7 and n. The officials evidently claimed that those premises were being used for business purposes.

7 τύπω καμηλώνος. Perhaps the implication is that the structure was built as a stable for camels, but that it was out of use or put to other use, see the camel stable fitted out as a hen house, with parts accommodating an oil press, IX 1207 3-5 *καμηλώνα* *κὸν τοῖς τούτου χρηστηρίοις πάσι εἰς δρνεῖθῶνα, παρὲς τόπων ἐνχρηζόντων εἰς ελαιουργίον*, or the stable for either horses or camels, PSI VI 705.7 *ἱππῶνος ἤτοι καμηλώνος*, cf. 10.

On *καμηλών* in the papyri see G. Husson, *OIKIA* 128-9. Six of her fifteen references relate to Oxyrhynchus: add III 533 22, P. Iand. VII 142 i 7, 10, iii 4 (Cysis, Khargeh Oasis?), P. Oxy. Hels. 23.29.

9 *Κρηκεντίωνος τοῦ ἐπιτεταγμένου τῆ εἰρήνῃ*. The new title indicates a high ranking police function. It is possible that we should restore the same title in L 3581 1, i.e. read [Φλαου]ῶν *Μαρκέλλω τριβο[ύνω ἐπιτεταγμέ]νω τῆ εἰρήνῃ (τριβο[ύνω c. 10] . c τῆ εἰρήνῃ ed. pr.)*; the scanty remains seem to suit *ῖνω* and not to enforce the inexplicable sigma. Cf. 4369 8-9 n. for the possibility of a similar title, *τὸν ἐπι[τεταγμένον τοῖς εἰρ]ηνεκοῖς (=εἰρηνηκοῖς)*, and for bibliography on the complex problem of police organization. The Roman name here may suggest that he was a soldier, like the tribune Marcellus in 3581, cf. A. H. M. Jones, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* i 231 (an *ex praepositis* in Moesia), in general I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* 234. It is new in the papyri, i.e. not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

Θεοδούλου τοῦ πολιτευομένου. A Theodulus is known as *riparius* in 350, with a colleague called Eulogius (XIX 2233 2). A letter from a Theodulus to his 'father' Eulogius, provenance unknown, could be connected (P. Princ. II 98). In 359 the *curator* of Oxyrhynchus was called Apollonius(?) alias Theodulus. Undated fourth century documents have a Theodulus with two assistants (*βοηθοί*; XLVIII 3428 7, 21), and a Theodulus son(?) of Aedesius (LVI 3859 34). In 421 a pair called Joseph and Theodulus were *riparii* (P. Select. (=Pap. Lugd. Bat. XIII) 8.3), and in 424 a Theodulus ordered his assistant Sarmates to supply some wine (XLIII 3148 1). Obviously not all of these can be the same.

On *πολιτευόμενοι* see 4376 3 n.

11-13 Nothing much can be made of the judgement, but the endorsement describes the document as a *πρόσταξις*, 'order', so it must have directed measures to be taken. After some proviso (*si null[]*) there may be a reference to the exercise of rights over their property in Oxyrhynchus (*exer[]pos]sessiones []*), and then at some distance there was a mention of the (gold and) silver of the *chrysargyron* (*argent[]*).

There is a detached and ragged scrap, which was attached or adhering in the region of the gap after *pos]sessiones []*, with remains of perhaps four or five Latin letters, but none of these has been recognized for certain nor has the scrap been definitely placed.

4382. MEMORANDUM TO STATIONARI

100/189(a)

12.5 × 5, 12 × 13.5 cm

23 July 383?

The main interest of this fragmentary item is that it provides the earliest documentary occurrence of the title *Augustalis* for a prefect of Egypt. The adoption of the title

has been connected with the creation of the new diocese of Egypt, an event of uncertain date, but no new conclusion about it seems possible, see 6–7 n. The Augustalis in question appears here with a *nomen* not otherwise attested for him, as Flavius *Quintilius* Hypatius, cf. A. H. M. Jones etc., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* i 448 (Hypatius 3).

The largest fragment has the foot and ends of fourteen lines, the next in size has the top and ends of four lines; it seems clear that they do not join directly, although the vertical distance between them is unlikely to be great. One small scrap has the letters] . τειαν[, with remains of two or three letters of the following line; this seems likely to belong to the consular date, i.e. as μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν [. On another the letters]ορι[or]ρρι[can be read. Three others, still smaller, are blank or have illegible remains of ink only. The back, so far as it is preserved, is blank.

The addressees are *stationarii* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, probably three in number. These would be minor officials with police functions, see 2 n. The memorandum was submitted by an inhabitant or an official of the city of Oxyrhynchus, whose name is lost. Mention is made of an order of the *praefectus Augustalis*, which seems to have commanded certain persons to make an appearance in his court to answer to evidence brought against them. It may be deduced that the persons concerned were in attendance on the tradesmen's entrances or domestic offices (ταῖς πλαγίαις) of certain official residences, see 8–10 n. The document was submitted to the *stationarii* with a view to a future outcome 'at the proper time', which suggests that it may be classed as a petition of the type which asks for no immediate relief, but for a record to be made of some irregularity which may lead to future legal action, see M. *Gdz.* 32–6.

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν [Φλαουτίων] Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κυαγρίου τῶν
λαμπροτάτων), Ἐπειφ κθ.

c. 10 letters?] . . . [c. 5] καὶ Τίττου καὶ (m. 2) Παύλω (m. 1)
στρατιοναρίοις Ὁξυρ(υγίτου).

παρὰ c. 15 letters?] . τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. (vac.) οὐκ ἄτοπὸν ἔστιν
c. 25 letters?] καὶ τουτ [c. 10 letters] . . . ε . . . ν.

5 c. 35 letters?] . [c. 20 letters

c. 30 letters? πρό]σταγμα τῆς ἐξ[ου]σίας τοῦ κυρίου μου
τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) ἐπάρχου Αἰγ]ουσταλίου Φλαουτίου Κυωντιλλίου
Ἐπατείου

c. 20 letters?] ρίους τοὺς προσεδρεύοντας ταῖς πλαγίαις

c. 20 letters?] ὦν ἀπαντῆσαι εἰς τὸ μέγ[α] δικαστήριον

10 c. 20 letters?] ἐπιφερόμενα αὐτοῖς. ἐπιδῆ ὄν ἐν τοῖς
c. 20 letters?] . . ὦν τῆς προσεδρίας ε . [c. 8 letters] . φνυ
c. 20 letters?] . ης καὶ Φοιβάδιος προστασίαν χρώμενοι
c. 18 letters? δι]ὰ τοῦτο τάδε τὰ ἔγγραφα ἐπιδίδωμι α . [. . .] .
c. 20 letters?] γ ἀσφάλειαν, ἵνα καιρῶ τῶ δέοντι εὐρ[c. 5?
15 up to c. 20 letters?] (vac.)

1 λαμς 2 τῖτ'του: l. Τίτω; οξυρ/ (oblique through stem of rho) 7 φλαουτίου, ὑπατείου
10 l. ἐπειδή 11 l. φύσει? 12 l. προστάσι[ν]? 13 εγ'γραφα 14 l. τῶ

'After the consulship of Flavius Antonius and Flavius Syagrius, *uir clarissimi*, Epeiph 29.'

'To Flavius ... and Flavius Titus and Flavius (2nd hand) Paulus, (1st hand) *stationarii* of the Oxyrhynchite territory. From ... of (or 'from') the same city. It is not unreasonable ...'

'... order of his Highness my lord the most magnificent Augustal prefect Flavius Quintilius Hypatius (commanding that the stewards?) attending at the trade entrances of (the praesidial? prefectorial? residences) should make their way to the high court (to answer to?) the evidence brought against them. Since, then, in the ... of the attendance ... by nature(?) ... and Phoebadius, taking charge (?) ... for this reason I present this written memorandum ... security, so that at the proper time (I may find?) ...'

1 For the conversion of the date as restored to 23 July 383 see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 77, 101, 114, R. S. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 298–301, 650–1, and cf. J. F. Oates, *BASP* 25 (1988) 132, which is the only certain example on papyrus of the use of this post-consulship and has lost the notation of the month and day. The names of the consuls of 382 are certain, it being clear enough from Ἀντωνίου that they are not Flavius Euchaerius and the other Flavius Syagrius, the consuls of 381. The uncertainty is whether we should restore a current consular formula for 382 or a post-consular formula denoting 383. The *praefectus Augustalis* Hypatius is addressed by two constitutions in the Codex Theodosianus, on 29 April 383 and 8 May 383, see 6–7 n. A predecessor, Palladius, is addressed by another of 14 May 382, C. Theod. VIII 5.37. If these dates are reliable, it is theoretically possible that Hypatius succeeded Palladius between 14 May and 23 July 382, but the detached scrap restored in the text as μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν[encourages what seems to be the more likely choice in any case, 383. The list of prefects of this period gives the impression that annual appointment was customary, even though this cannot be canonized as a rule, see C. Vandersleyen, *La chronologie des préfets* 119–133, esp. 122–8.

There is a seeming objection: P. Gen. I 12 is dated ὑπατείας Φλαουτίων Βαρωβάδου (BL I 158) καὶ Καταρ[ν]εῖλου τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Φαρμοῦθι ζ, i.e. seemingly 2 April 383 by the ordinary consuls of that year, Merobaudes II and Saturninus, see Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 301, 650. However, account must be taken of the endorsement Φαρμοῦθι ζ, εβς ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), see BL I 158, from *Archiv* 3 (1906) 384. The only twelfth indiction which can be relevant is the one that began in 383, see Bagnall, Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 77, with 67 para. 3. In the Arsinoite nome, from which the document comes, the indiction did not begin till 1 July, *ibid.* 68; therefore the date is most probably 2 April 384, with the year denoted by the consuls of the previous year, but without a clear indication that this is a post-consular date. The bad spelling of the consuls' names and the omission of the iteration number for Merobaudes shows that the writer was not fully competent in notarial practices. The document with the post-consulship of Antonius and Syagrius in *BASP* 25 (1988) 132 need not therefore be earlier than 2 April.

We may also note that in the papyri the year 382 is indicated by a post-consular date clause (p.c. Fl. Euchaerii et Fl. Syagrii vv.cc.) as late as 12 July (SB IV 7445); the eponymous consuls of 382, Antonius and the other Syagrius, appear for their own year only in P. Lips. 21.1–3, without month or day. Since that document is a lease of land, the season is likely to be the autumn, say August to October or November. (In passing: the reference to the ninth indiction, (ἐνάτη[τ]η) c. 10, a reading kindly confirmed at my request by Dr Karpp, Director of the Manuscript Department of Leipzig University Library), is presumably a mistake for the eleventh (ἐνδεκάτη), i.e. 382/3, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 65 and n. 14.)

A similar situation can be seen in 384, when a post-consular formula was used as late as 24 October (4383), and in 385, when the post-consular formula ran as late as 26 November (4384).

We should now therefore pay special attention to the form of the date of C. Theod. XII 6.17 (=C. Just. X 72.7) addressed to Hypatius on 29 April 383: *dat(a) III kal(endas) Mai(as) Constant(ino)p(oli) post cons(ulatum) Antoni et Syagri*. According to Bagnall etc., *The Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 650, this 'is presumably an Egyptian accepted date, but it would be late even so, given the papyrological attestation of Merobaudes and Saturninus in early April'; cf. op. cit. 82, no. 33. Since we now have reason to doubt P. Gen. 12's attestation of the consuls of 383 on 2 April of their own year, we should doubt also that this date in the Code is an Egyptian *accepta* date. It is far more probable that it is a genuine contemporary *data* clause which has survived the editorial process of normalizing the dates of the Codex Theodosianus, see O. Seeck, *Regesten* 18–23. If the ordinary consuls of 383 were not known in Constantinople on 29 April, it becomes much less credible that they were known in Egypt by 2 April (P. Gen. 12), and more credible that they may not have been known in Egypt even by 23 July (4382). It is far less significant that the other constitution addressed to Hypatius on 8 May is dated by the consuls of the year (C. Theod. XI 36.27), because we do not know if this is a genuine formula or one normalized according to the usual practice of the Code's editors. If the formula is genuine, there would have been plenty of time for news to travel from the capital to Oxyrhynchus between 8 May and 23 July, but that does not mean that it need have done so. The late appearance in Egypt of the eponymous consuls of these years, 382 to 385, is reminiscent of the conditions of the fifth century, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *BASP* 17 (1980) 32–6.

2 The line will have begun with a status indication, possibly *Φλαουτοιοι*, cf. B. Kramer, *Archiv* 32 (1986) 37, n. 1.5, but she was not speaking of this inferior sort of *stationarius*, see below. The status indication may have stood in full or been abbreviated. Probably there is room for only one more *cognomen*.

Τίττου (τιτ'του): I. *Τίτω*. For *Τίττος* cf. P. Meyer 20.40 (*Τίτ'τος δ' ἰπ'πέυς*, III); SB I 5272.28 (*Τίτ'τος Πτολεμαίου*, AD 304); XVI 1917 5 (*Τίτ'τος πρεσβ(ύτερος)*, VI), cf. 11, 12, 17, 19, 66. That this represents the Latin Titus is corroborated by occurrences of *Τιττιανός* for Titianus (SB IV 7379.26, Stud. Pal. XX 65.5, PSI X 1159.4, P. Petaus 67.23, CPR VII 13.6).

στατιοναρίοι. For references to *stationarii* in the papyri see A. Jördens, *ZPE* 92 (1992) 224, n. 1.9. This title is best known in the papyri as applied to army officers with police functions, usually in charge of law and order in a whole nome, cf. CPR V 12.1 n. However, the note there follows the old view that the term is usually the equivalent of *βεβηκικάριος στατίων*, which is now discredited, see N. B. Rankov, 'Die Beneficiarius in den literarischen und papyrologischen Texten' in E. Schallmayer (ed.), *Der Römische Weibebezirk von Osterburken* (Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 49.1994) pp. 219–232, esp. 228. The best indication that they could sometimes be equivalents is reduced to the passage in the acts of the martyrs Agape, Irene and Chione quoted above in 4381 introd. para. 6, where *δ' ἐνθάδε στατιοναρίος* becomes *Κάκωνδρος βεβηκικάριος*, cf. Rankov, loc. cit. 221 and n. 26. Obviously this evidence is of doubtful value.

The plural here indicates that by 383 the term *stationarius* was already being applied to police officers of a lower grade, cf. P. Herm. 19.15 n. *Stationarii* in the plural occur also in P. Laur. III 61.21 (350–399), P. Mil. II 34 (=SB VIII 9846).1, P. Rain. Cent. 147.2, 5, 4371 5 (all IV), XLIII 3147 14, P. Haun. III 54.5, (both IV/V), P. Harr. I 91.2 (484). In one case, P. Berl. Zill. 4.22, of c. 349, there is a mention of *στατιζόντων* which seems to refer, uniquely, to the same subordinate sort of *stationarius*, cf. 4371 5 n.

A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 521, ii 1219, n. 114; i 600, ii 1248, n. 89, describes only the high ranking sort of *stationarius*, although C. Theod. Sirmond. 14, of 409, which he quotes (ii 1219, n. 114), may be referring to the lesser sort, since it applies the rather demeaning word *apparitor* to them: *stationarii apparitoris sollicitudo* (15), *apparitorum, quos stationarios appellant* (36).

Evidence is beginning to appear in Greek and Latin ostraca of what seems to be an early and perhaps different variety of the subordinate sort of *stationarii*, see first O. Claud. I (J. Bingen etc., *Mons Claudianus. Ostraca Graeca et Latina*, IFAO Cairo 1992). Passes issued by military officers instruct *στατιοναρίοι* to allow the bearers to pass along desert routes: for references see p. 186 (Index V). These unnamed *stationarii* appear to be in charge of minor posts along the roads.

O. Amst. 12 gives a list of named *στατιοναρίοι*, Apollos, Nephotianus, Harpochras, Ptolemaeus, who may be soldiers, but are certainly not high ranking. Unfortunately the provenance of most of the Amsterdam ostraca remains a subject for debate, see esp. H. Cuvigny, *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists* 229. The texts from both collections date from the second century.

The third century Latin ostraca from Bu Njem in Libya include some daily duty reports, many of which list the number of *stationarii* on duty without giving the names of the men or the location of their service: for references see O. Bu Njem (R. Marichal, *Les Ostraca de Bu Njem*, Tripoli 1992) p. 226, Index 5. Probably these were again assigned to small outposts on desert roads.

6–7 For the restoration see P. Haun. III 57.4 (c. 412–415), cf. P. Laur. III 87.4–5 (IV/V). For Hypatius see introd. para. 1. The *nomen* Quintilius is new for him. He is known as Augustalis on 8 May 383, according to C. Theod. XI 36.27, and without the title on 29 April 383, according to C. Theod. XII 6.17 (=C. Just. X 72.7). Two other constitutions in the C. Theod. refer to an Augustalis also called Hypatius in 392, XI 36.31, of 9 April, and XIII 5.20, of 12 April.

He is now the earliest prefect of Egypt who has the title *Augustalis* in a papyrus document. According to the *Excerpta Barbari* Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus was the first Augustalis, but the papyri have not so far confirmed this, see 4376 6–7 n., cf. C. Vandersleyen, *La chronologie des préfets* 146–153. In C. Theod. the earliest prefect with the title is Palladius, see VIII 5.37 of 14 May 382. The title has been connected with the creation of the diocese of Egypt, which previously was part of the diocese of Oriens. The earliest direct mention of the new diocese is in C. Theod. XII 1.97 of 8 March 383, but it was argued by A. H. M. Jones, *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 5 (1954) 224–7, that the *Excerpta Barbari* were to be believed. J. Lallemand, *L'Administration* 55–7, found plausible arguments for placing the date between 17 March 380 and 11 July 381. The course of the controversy was last summarized by L. De Salvo, *Rivista Storica dell'Antichità* 9 (1979) 69–74; she argued for a new *terminus ante quem* of 11 February 371 depending on C. Theod. XIII 5.14, which has the phrase *tam intra Orientem quam intra Aegyptiacas partes*. The uncertainty still remains, cf. 4385 introd.

8–10 It seems clear from the remains that certain persons, *τοὺς προεδρεύοντα ταῖς πλαγίαις*, are to come to a high court, that of the Augustalis himself presumably, to answer to evidence brought against them: restore 9–10 with something like *ἀποκριθησομένους πρὸς τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα αὐτοῖς*, cf. P. Sakaon 31 (=P. Thead. 15, Sel. Pap. ii 262).17–18 *ἐπειδὴ ... ἀπέσταλται, ... ἐπανελθὼν ἀποκριθήσεται πρὸς τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα αὐτῷ*, with OGN I (=R. Pintaudi, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Ostraca Graeci da Namuthis I*) 92.24–5 *πρὸς τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα (I. -όμενα) ἐγκλήματα (I. ἐγκλ-) ἀνταπαντῶν*. For *μέγα δικαστήριον* see P. Sakaon 48.24–5 (*praeses Augustammicae*) and P. Michaelidae 30.12–13 (official uncertain).

The word *πλαγία* stands for *πλαγία θύρα*, side or back door, which occurs with reference to the services provided for official residences such as *praetoria* and *palatia*, see especially the note to CPR V 17.8, where there occurs the phrase *τὴν ἀρχοντικὴν πλαγίαν*, interpreted as the tradesmen's entrance to the residence of the *praeses* of Arcadia in Heracleopolis. In CPR XIV 39.4 *πλαγία* appears in a list which consists mostly of the titles of members of a praesidial staff. This seems to concern a department of the official residence again.

Another Heracleopolite deed of surety with wording very similar to that of CPR V 17 refers to a *ζητάριον καὶ κηπουρ[ὸν τοῦ] ἀρχοντικοῦ καταγωγίου*, 'steward and gardener of the praesidial lodging' (SB VI 9152.9, from *Wiener Studien* 66 (1953) 171–7). Just possibly the persons concerned here are *ζητάριους* (8), although we must bear in mind that the Latinate suffix *-άριος* was very productive in later Greek, cf. L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 48–9. On the meaning of the word see R. Rémondon, *CE* 40 (1965) 179. He pointed out that it was a vulgar spelling of *διατάριος*, which appears in Latin also as *di(a)etarius* and *zetarius*, citing Du Cange's glossaries of late Greek and Latin. He gives the Latin equivalent as *atriensis* and translates it into French as *conciierge*, which seems appropriate. G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* has various helpful entries. In *CGL* V 519.59 *zetarius* is equated with *custos palatii*; in Egypt a *παλάτιον* was a residence reserved not for visiting emperors alone, but also for provincial governors on tour and other high ranking officials, see A. Łukaszewicz, *Les édifices publics* 51–3. *CGL* V 519.60 has *zotarius* (a mistake for *zetarius* again) *mansionarius*; this was no doubt the equivalent post at a *mansio*, such as the *μοναί* at Oxyrhynchus itself and at Tacona in the Oxyrhynchite nome, for which see LX 4087–8, or the one at Caene in the Heracleopolite nome, see 4387 2 n. *CGL* II 22.28 has *Atriensis διατάριος διατάρχης*.

These parallels provide a model for a restoration of 8–10 on the lines of *δ' κελεύει πάντας τοὺς ζητάριους τοὺς προεδρεύοντας ταῖς πλαγίαις [τῶν ἀρχοντικῶν καταγωγί]ων ἀπαντῆσαι εἰς τὸ μέγ[α] δικαστήριον [ἀποκριθησομένους πρὸς τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα αὐτοῖς, '(an order) which commands all the caretakers who attend upon the domestic offices of the praesidial residences to come to the high court to answer to the evidence brought against them'. It should go without saying that this is a schematic restoration only. The title of the officials summoned is not known for certain. The buildings concerned are not necessarily praesidial, although they are very likely to be official.*

10–13 These lines gave the reason for the submission of this document to the *stationarii*, *δι]ὰ τοῦτο* (13)

answering to ἐπ(ε)ιδή (10). Unfortunately they are impossible to restore. In 11 *προεδρίας* refers back to *προεδρεύοντες* (8) and alludes to the function of official caretaker again. It looks as if we must necessarily correct *προσταίαν* to *προστασία* {ν} *χρώμενοι*; this perhaps might mean that Phoebadius and the other man, whose name preceded, were to be in charge of an official building while the sender of the document obeyed his summons to the high court.

11 Read possibly *φύσει*, cf. ἐπ(ε)ιδή (10). It seems that the clerk avoided splitting words at the line ends, cf. 14–15 n. The meaning escapes me.

12 Phoebadius is a rare name in the papyri. The fourth century P. Ross.-Georg. V 28.2 mentions one as *tabularius civitatis* of Oxyrhynchus. The broadly similar date and the rarity of the name are tempting, but there is no other reason to assume that the same person is meant. P. Giss. 55.6–7 mentions a deceased Phoebadius who had been a bishop. The letter is assigned to the sixth century, but to judge from the printed wording and format it belongs probably to the fourth.

Add now J. Gascoy, *Un codex fiscal hermetopolite* 9 12 (p. 91, cf. 212). This is early seventh century, but the reading *Φοιβαδίου* is doubtful, see *ibid.* Pl. III.

There is no entry for Phoebadius in the first volume of A. H. M. Jones etc., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. ii has one, a poet, dated to 414.

13 διὰ τοῦτο κτλ. Cf. P. Abinn. 46.5–6 διὰ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπι[διδωμί σοι τ]ὰ αὐτὰ τὰ ἐγ<γ>ραφα, XXII 2344 11 διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτά σοι τὰ ἐγγραφα ἐπι[δ]ιδωμι. The traces suit alpha, but not omicron.

14 καιρῶ τῆ (= τῷ) δέοντι. A search of the Duke Data Bank on Ibycus did not reveal another instance of this word order. The normal phrases are ἐν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ or, without ἐν, simply τ. δ. κ. SB VI 9590.21 has καιρῷ δέοντι, without preposition or article.

14–15 At the end of line 14 part of *εὐρίσκω* seems likely, perhaps *εὐρ[ω]* or *εὐρ[εθῆ]*. Not much more could be fitted into the line, especially since this writer is avoiding word division between lines, cf. 11 n., but either of these requires some further word or words. The text must therefore have extended into a fifteenth line, although it was too short to survive the damage.

4383. LEASE OF LAND

A69/2(e)

10 × 9.5 cm

24 October 384

The post-consular dating of this fragment from the top of a lease of land shows that the news of the proclamation of the eponymous consuls of 384, Flavius Richomer and Flavius Clearchus, had not reached Oxyrhynchus when nearly ten months of the year had elapsed. The entry for this year in R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 303, makes it appear that they occur as consuls of their own year in P. Lips. 62 i 24 and ii 1, but both passages have a post-consular formula referring to 385, so that these references should be emended and transferred to page 305, cf. 4384 of 26 November 385, still dated by their post-consulship. See also 4382 1 n.

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μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουτίων Μερο-
βαύδου τὸ β'' καὶ Κατορνίλου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων)
(vac.) Φαῶφι κζ. (vac)

Ἀδρηλίω Καρμάτη Πτολεμίνου

5 πολιτευομένω τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρ(υγχιτῶν πόλεως)
παρὰ Ἀδρηλίω[υ] Φοιβάμμωνος Πτη-

οὐ[το]ς ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Κογκὸν ἀ' πάγου.
ἐκ[ο]υσίως ἐπιδέχομε μισθώσασθαι
ἐπ[ι] μόνης τῆς εὐτυχοῦς ἰδ' ἰνδικτίονος
10 ἀ[πὸ] τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σοι περὶ κώμην
.....]...[.....]... εἰ[ς] [] πορὰν

2 l. Κατορνίνου; λαμζ'

5 λαμζ, λαμζοξυρ/

8 l. ἐπιδέχομαι

9 ἰδ' ἰνδικτίονος

'After the consulship of Flavius Merobaudes, for the second time, and Flavius Saturninus, *viri clarissimi*, Phaophi 27'.

'To Aurelius Sarmates son of Ptoleminus, *curialis* of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Phoebammon son of Peëus from the hamlet of Concon in the first *pagus*. I voluntarily undertake to hold on lease for only the auspicious 14th indiction from property belonging to you near the village of ... (so many aruras?) for sowing ...'

1–3 For the conversion of the date to 24 October 384, see R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 303, R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 114, 96.

2 The spelling Κατορνίλου for Latin *Saturninus* is common in the papyri, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 221.

4 This person cannot yet be identified, although it is possible that he occurred in 4379 4, of 369, see *ibid.* 4 n. An earlier Sarmates son of Ptoleminus appears as a tax-collector in a document of 295 (I 43 r. iii 9–10, iv 27), where there is another collector called Sarmates *alias* Ptoleminus (r. iv 7–8, v 5–6). A Ptoleminus *alias* Sarmates, exegetes, of 294, occurs in VI 891 8, cf. Π]τολεμίνον ἐξηγητ(ητ-) in XII 1416 25 of c. 299. In XVII 2110 of 370 there are two former curators of Oxyrhynchus, one called Ptoleminus (7), the other Sarmates (13). In 360 a Ptoleminus sends a steward an order to deliver (VII 1056). In 362 there is a Ptoleminus who was a *praepositus* of the eighth *pagus* (P. Harr. II 219.1). There is a *πολιτευόμενος* of Oxyrhynchus called Ptoleminus son of Eulogius in a document assigned to the late fourth or early fifth century, P. Michael. 33.1, 7. A fifth century *exactor* called Ptoleminus occurs in P. Heid. IV 313.12, cf. 314.4 (with D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 100–101), P. Oslo III 88.22–3 (late IV?), referring, like P. Heid. 313, to a boat owned by a Ptoleminus, and P. Wash. Univ. II 83.5. It looks as if there was an Oxyrhynchite family in which the names Sarmates and Ptoleminus were traditional, but for the moment it seems impossible to untangle their genealogy.

5 πολιτευομένω. See 4376 3 n.

7 ἐποικίου Κογκὸν ἀ' πάγου. This hamlet is new, i.e. not in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, but the name has appeared as that of an agricultural area, the *εδαφος Κογκόν* XVI 1911 113, LV 3804 209. The fact that it is in the first, i.e. most southerly, *pagus* confirms the deductions about the area administered by the steward whose accounts are recorded in 1911 and 3804, see 3804 introd.

9 ἰδ' ἰνδικτίονος. The fourteenth indiction in question began in 385, see Bagnall, Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 77, but the crops of the growing season 384/5 would be credited to the following indiction according to the normal practice, see *op. cit.* 9–16.

11 After the name of the village we should probably expect ἀρούρας n.

4384. LEASE OF LAND

103/104(b)

8.5 × 9.5 cm

26 November 385

According to the consular *fasti* the consuls of 385 were the emperor Arcadius, aged seven, and Flavius Bauto, but the post-consular dating of this fragment from the top of

a lease shows that the names of the consuls of 384, Flavius Richomer and Flavius Clearchus, were still being used in Oxyrhynchus when nearly eleven months of the year 385 had elapsed, cf. **4383** of 24 October 384, still dated by a post-consulship, with **4382** 1 n.

Another point of interest is that the well known village of Toca, hitherto always associated with the Oxyrhynchite nome, is here assigned to the neighbouring Cynopolite nome, see 3-4 n.

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μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλ(αουτίων) Ῥιχομήρου
καὶ Κλεάρχου τ]ῶν {των} λαμ(προτάτων), Ἀθύρ λ".
τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Τόκα
τοῦ Ἄνω Κυνοπολε[ί]του γομοῦ
5 Ἀυρήλιοι {ς} Καρ[α]πίων {ι} καὶ [. . .] . . .
καὶ Παῦμιος, οἱ γ' ἐ[κ] π]ατρὸς [Ῥ]σιδώρου
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κ[ώ]μης Τόκα χαίρειν.
ὁμολογῶ[μ]εν μεμισθῶσθαι παρ'
ὑμῶν πρὸς μόνον τὸ ἐνεστὸς ἔτο {υ}ς
10 (ἔτος) ἔβ[ε]σ[τ] λ[α]ς" π(ερί) κώμην Τόκα ἐκ { . }
τοῦ [.] . . ὀνόμ(ατος) Παθερμ[ού]-12θιος ?

1 I. ὑπατεῖαν; φλ/ 2 λαμ" 4 I. Κυνοπολίτου 6 παῦμιος 8 I. ὁμολογοῦμεν
9 ὑμων 10 L = (ἔτος), π' 11 ονομ[α]

'After the consulship of Flavius Richomer and Flavius Clearchus, *uiri clarissimi*, Hathyr 30.'

'To the community of the village of Toca of the Upper Cynopolite nome, Aurelius Sarapion and Aurelius . . . and Aurelius Paymius, the three of them sons of Isidorus, from the same village of Toca, greetings. We acknowledge that we have taken on lease from you for the present year 62/31 only in the vicinity of Toca from the allotment of . . . in the name of Pathermuthis (?) . . .'

1-2 For the conversion of the date clause to 26 November 385 see R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 305, R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 114, 97.

3 τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης. There is some ambiguity about the meaning of the expression, see O. Douch I 28 ii 13 n. It can be taken to mean either the whole community of the village or the board of village officials, the equivalent of the κοινὸν τῶν πρωτοκωμητῶν (I 133 7, 22) or τῶν κομητῶν (XIX 2243(a) ii 42), cf. LIX 3985 2. Here, as in most cases, it is the board of officials that is most immediately meant, although probably the land was compulsorily assigned as the responsibility of all the inhabitants of the village by the system of ἐπιμετρίαις, better known as ἐπιμερισμός, cf. P. Rainer Cent. 82, where the lessee addresses himself to two comarchs: μεμισθῶμαι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν δ[ια]φερόντων τῆ ἡμετέρας κώμης λόγον ἐπιμετρίαις . . . ἀρούρας κτλ. (8-13), and the taxes are the responsibility of the village κοινόν: τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς δημοσίων πάντων ὄντων πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῆς κώμης (26-8). In P. Neph. 19, a petition to a monk from a village κοινόν, the ambiguity is even more marked, because the text implies that it represents the interests of all the villagers, see *ibid.* 2 n.

3-4 Τόκα τοῦ Ἄνω Κυνοπολε[ί]του γομοῦ. Toca is well known as a village of the Middle toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 205-6, but we learn here that by this time it had been

assigned to the Cynopolite, which bordered the Oxyrhynchite on the east. Compare especially SB XVI 12324, where Toca (3) is mentioned along with the village of Ceuothis (9), known from a text of 552 to have been then in the Cynopolite, see P. Lond. III 776.5-6 (*Κνωθ[ε]ως*: p. 278), Pruneti, *op. cit.* 84. This confirms in a striking fashion the deductions of R. S. Bagnall, writing on SB XVI 12324 in *Tyche* 6 (1991) 37-43, esp. 41-42, where he argues that a large part of the Middle toparchy was transferred to the territory of Cynopolis at some time in the fourth century. He suggests that it might have been as early as the creation of the *pagus* system, c. 307/8 (p. 42). A slight doubt about this early date for the change might be felt. SB 12324 itself was assigned to the late fourth century by its first editor, H. C. Youtie, *BASP* 16 (1979) 145-7; Bagnall sets it after 380, arguing from the gold rate which he deduces (39-40), and suggests that the hand would allow a date in the early fifth century as well as the late fourth (n. 12). LX 4091 of 352 mentions the village of Ceuothis in a document submitted to a strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome by an official of the first *pagus*, seemingly in connection with the village of Mermertha (11), known to have been in the first *pagus* and earlier in the Upper toparchy. The implication seems to be that in 352 Ceuothis was still in the Oxyrhynchite, so that if it was a single administrative change which put several Oxyrhynchite villages into the Cynopolite, then that change fell between 352 and 384. Of course, this does not amount to a certainty, but remains to be confirmed or excluded by new publications. Another implication, that Ceuothis was near Mermertha (Upper toparchy) as well as Toca (Middle toparchy), may later prove useful for the map of the Oxyrhynchite nome.

5-6 The cases are awry, but nominatives are wanted, see *οἱ γ'* (6).

6 Παῦμιος. This looks like the genitive of the known name Παῦμις, see BGU X 1943.5, 26, CPR VI 32.10, I 86 4, XLVIII 3406 9, P. Prag. I 95.6, PSI IX 1037.27, 38, but it is acceptable as a variant nominative of the same Egyptian name, see genitive Παυμίον in P. Turner 45.26, although the same person appears as Παυμ[ί]ον in 16.

8 ὁμολογῶ[μ]εν (l. ὁμολογοῦμεν). For phonetic confusion of *ou* with *o* see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 208-211, but the influences of habit and the singular form are probably more to blame.

10 (ἔτος) ἔβ[ε]σ[τ] λ[α]ς". Year 62/31 by the Oxyrhynchite eras is 385/6, see Bagnall, Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 77, cf. *ibid.* 36-42 on the era system.

π' = π(ερί) is an unusual abbreviation in documentary papyri, which use the same form frequently for π(αρά). In literary papyri π' does represent περί, see K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* 80-81, παρά is more usually π', with an oblique descending from left to right, *ibid.* 78.

10-11 In ἐκ { . } the extra loop is likely to be unintentional, though ἐκ{κ} is a possibility, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 161(2) for this sort of gemination. This probably introduces an allotment name, cf. P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 159-244. The only allotment name known for the village of Toca is Καλλιμάχου ἐν τῷ Βακχίου (*ibid.* p. 218), which is clearly too long to fit here, although [Καλλιμάχ]ου by itself would do. The traces are minute and not distinctive.

11 ὀνόμ(ατος) Παθερμ[ού]θιος. This is the name under which the land was registered, in this case probably the name of a former lessee. The only known possibility is Παθερμούθιος; some of the ink on the broken edge suits mu well enough, but there is an awkward horizontal sticking out to the left; it is probably accidental.

4385. FRAGMENT OF OFFICIAL CONTRACT

26 3B.47/A(1-3)b

11.5 × 10 cm

22 May 386

Although this fragment is almost incomprehensible, it is interesting for its mention, unique in the papyri, of a high official, a *uir clarissimus*, with the title of *corrector* transliterated into κορρήκτωρ. In the exceptional cases of Egyptian *correctores* in the third century their title was translated by ἐπανορθωτής. The date here is 22 May 386, see 2-3 n., and the city district name appearing in line 4 shows that the document, excavated at Oxyrhynchus, certainly relates to that place.

It is known that the province of Augustamnica, founded in 341, was governed first

by a *praeses* and later by a *corrector*. Wilcken, *Gdz.*, 74, set the change only as being before the compilation of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the date of which is notoriously debated, although it must have been at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. A *corrector Augustamnicae* is mentioned but not named in C. Theod. I 7.2 of 393, cf. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 376, ii 1151 n. 27. Since the only other governor in the East with that title held office in Paphlagonia, see *Notitia Dignitatum*, Or. I 126–8, our *κορρήκτωρ* is obviously to be assigned to Augustamnica and gives us a new *terminus ante quem* for the date of the promotion of its governor from the rank of *praeses*, documented till 17 January 373, see XLVI 3308, to that of *corrector*. This brings the date of the change close to that of the bestowal of the title *praefectus Augustalis* on the former *praefectus Aegypti*, which had occurred by 14 May 382, see 4382 1 n., citing C. Theod. VIII 5.37. It is an obvious possibility that the two changes occurred simultaneously as part of the same administrative reform, and it may be that both are to be associated with the creation of the diocese of Aegyptus, see 4382 6–7 n. para. 2.

The next important change in the administration was to be the creation of the new province of Arcadia, of which Oxyrhynchus became the capital. The first datable mention of Arcadia is in a document now redated to the period 397–399, see 4371 introd. para. 3, 4386 10 n., and clearly its creation occurred later than the date of 4385, which now replaces C. Theod. I 14.1, of 17 February 386, as *terminus post quem*, see 4386 10 n.

What survives is only the top and parts of ten lines, written along the fibres, although there is no sheet-join to prove that this is the recto of the roll from which the sheet was cut. The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

The consular date formula gives us a good guide to the extent of the lacuna on the left, where it has lost twenty-five letters. The loss on the right cannot be reliably estimated.

The document was a contract of mutual agreement between parties connected with the Oxyrhynchite tribe designated 'of the Avenue of Thoëris and other districts'. The second party was an individual with the unusual name of Aurelius Probatius, but there is some suspicion that the first was not an individual but a corporate body acting through its representatives, see 5 n. Since the best known function of the Oxyrhynchite tribes was to provide persons to undertake compulsory public service, it is a likely guess that this was the subject of the agreement and of the petition to the *corrector Augustamnicae* which seems to be mentioned. The details are completely lost.

(vac.) ἀντί]γραφον. (vac.)
 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότης ἡ]μῶν Ἀρκαδίου αἰω[νίου]
 ἀγού<του> τὸ ἀ' καὶ Φλ(αούτου) Βα[ύτωνος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου,
 (vac.?)] Παχῶν κζ'''. (vac.)
 c. 25 letters]ς φυλῆς Δρόμ[ο]υ Θοήριδος καὶ ἄλλων ἀμ[φίδων

5 c. 20 letters] ὑπογράφοντων καὶ Ἀυρήλιος Προβάτιος ἰ. [
 c. 20 letters τ]ῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς ἀλλήλοισ χαίρειν. ἐπι[δῆ]
 c. 20 letters]τω χρόνῳ μετερχόμενος τῷ τῶν c. [
 c. 25 letters]αυτα ἀτονήσας μαι ἐντυχεῖα ἐχ. [
 c. 20 letters τοῦ κυ]ρίου μου λαμ[προ]τάτου κορρήκτορος Ἄννι. [
 10 c. 25 letters] . . [c. 20 letters] . [c. 10 letters] . . [

2 φλ' 6 l. ἐπειδῆ? 8 l. με?, ἐντυχεῖα

'Copy.'

'After the consulship of our master Arcadius, perpetual Augustus, for the 1st time, and of Flavius Bauto, *uir clarissimus*, Pachon 27.'

'... of the tribe of the Avenue of Thoëris and other districts ... subscribing, and Aurelius Probatius ... of the same tribe, to one another, greeting. Whereas(?) ... time ... pursuing(?) ... being unable ... me (I (he?) employed?) a petition, (submitting it to his Highness?) my lord *corrector*, *uir clarissimus*, Anni ...

1 ἀντί]γραφον. The fact that this is a copy, which may have been written after the date given, does not affect the conclusions about the date and *corrector*. It cannot be assumed that the heading was centred, so that it does not help to ascertain the amount of the loss on the right.

2–3 Arcadius and Bauto were the consuls of 385. No papyri of that year use their names and we can see from 4384 that as late as 26 November 385 the papyri were still using a post-consular date clause by the consuls of 384, so that this document of Pachon 27 = 22 May must be dated by a post-consular formula and therefore belong to 386 at the earliest. It is unlikely that it would be as late as 22 May 387 in this period, and certainly we can see that SB XIV 11285 of Payni 3 = 28 May 387 is dated by a post-consular clause of Honorius and Euodius, the consuls of 386. For all this see R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 304–9.

τοῦ λαμπροτάτου. Although the consular formula gives us an approximate measure for what is normally missing at the beginnings of the lines, it is not precisely certain where they ended. Here it may be that line 2 ended with Βα[ύτωνος], with the honorific in the next line, probably indented. Or, if the honorific was here, λαμπροτάτου may have been abbreviated to λαμ[ς], as often.

4–5 In 5 restore perhaps δι' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐξῆς] (13 letters) ὑπογράφοντων, cf. P. Rain. Cent. 122.2 (Oxy.; 429). It seems likely that it should also be restored in PSI XII 1265.2 (?; 426 or 441), where for πόλεως [τραπεζ]ιτῶν ἐξῆς ὑπογράφοντων read probably π. [δι' ἡμῶ]ν τῶν ἐ. ὅ. Or we might need a longer formula, as in LIX 3987 3, δι' ἡμῶν τῶν παρόντων καὶ ὑπογράφοντων (Oxy.; 520?), which, at twenty letters, would just fit the beginning of 5. These documents relate to guilds which act through their representatives.

If it were not for these subscribers, who might be expected to represent a corporate body, it would be attractive to restore in line 4 the name and office of the *custatēs* of the tribe concerned, i.e. Aurelius X, son of Y, *custatēs* φυλῆς κτλ., cf. e.g. XXXIV 2715 5, XL 2930 2–3 (phylarch), LI 3622 5–6, 3623 5–6, LV 3796 4–5, PSI X 1108.5–6. None of these is exactly parallel: most are in the genitive after παρά, some have τῆς νυνὶ λειτουργούσης φυλῆς. The *systatae* of the city do appear as a *κοινόν*, see XLIII 3137 1, but this is inconsistent with the mention of the individual tribe. On the *systates*, whose chief duties were in appointing liturgists and dealing with their difficulties, see most lately P. van Minnen in P. L. Bat. 25 pp. 275–83.

It might be imagined that the tribe itself acted corporately, but there is no parallel to encourage a restoration such as τὸ κοινόν τῆς νυνὶ λειτουργούσης φυλῆς, though twenty-seven letters is close enough to the desired length.

5 On the name Probatius see I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* 277. It has not previously appeared in the papyri. After that there was probably a patronymic, e.g. Ἰο[υλιανοῦ], Ἰε[ράκ], which may or may not have been the last word in the line.

6 It is very tempting to restore ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως τ]ῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς, cf. VIII 1116 20, XXXIV 2715

19, LI 3622 7-8, LV 3796 6 (restored). The objection to this is that it should imply a specific mention of the city of Oxyrhynchus in a preceding line, for which it is difficult to find a place.

ἐπιδῆ (l. ἐπειδή). See P. Cair. Isid. 81.6, P. Haun. III 57.3, P. Oxy. Hels. 44.4, P. Stras. VII 672.2, all with ἀλλήλοις χαίρειν. ἐπειδή (or ἐπιδή), cf. XIV 1638A 2-3, SB XVI 12829.4, both with ἀ. χ. ἐπί (l. ἐπέ). It may have gone on with ἐγὼ δ and the name of one of the parties to the contract, as in P. Haun. III 57.3, since we have μαι (l. με) and μου in lines 8 and 9; on the other hand SB XVI 12829 simply begins ἐπι τυγχάνω <ὄν> κώμα[ρ]χο[ς], referring to the first named party.

7 μετερχόμενος. This might be expected to mean 'pursuing' or 'taking proceedings against', but the seeming dative which follows is puzzling. Perhaps the accusative preceded.

8-9 ἀτονήσας μαι (l. με). Comparing P. Oslo III 161.16-17 ἐὰν δὲ σὺ ἀτονήσῃς αὐτὸν ἀπαιτῆσαι, ἀξίωσον Ἀφθόνιον καὶ ἀπαιτῆ (l. -τεῖ) εὐτά (l. ἀτά), 'If you are not able to exact (them) from him, ask Aphthonius and he will exact them', we would expect the sense to be 'since he was unable to (do something to) me', etc., but ἐντυχεία (l. -χία) ἐχ. [recalls the phrase ἐντυχία χρῆσθαι, i.e. suggests that we should restore something like ἐχρηστάτο or ἐχρηστάμην, followed perhaps in 9 by ἀνεγκῶν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου μου κτλ., 'he (I?) employed a petitioner, submitting it to his Highness my lord the corrector, uir clarissimus', etc., cf. LIV 3758 42-3 τῇ ἐντυχείᾳ (l. -χία) κέχρηται ἀνεγκῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, XLVI 3302 7-8 ἐντυχεία (l. -χία) ἐχρηστάμην περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀποκαταστάσεως τοῖς πρὸς τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γεγονόσι, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῷ σὺ μεγαλείῳ. The second clause seems very attractive, but it is most unattractive to have με as the final word of the first. The missing infinitive ought to follow. It is a counsel of despair to suppose that the scribe jumped a word in this copy, cf. ἀντίγραφον (1), and should have written ἀτονήσας <inf.?) μαι.

An alternative articulation, ἀτ' ὀνήσας μαι, 'as if he had conferred an advantage on me', might afford the solution, but it may be more specious than convincing.

9 κορρήκτορος Ἄννι. [κορρήκτωρ is new in the papyri, i.e. not in F. Preisigke, *WB, Suppl.* i, ii, S. Daris, *Lessico Latino*. It is not recorded in LSJ or Suppl., nor in H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, or Ducange, *Glossarium*, nor in G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, which does, however, have corrector/ἐπανορθωτής. The TLG, searched by Ibycus, gives only the frequent references in the Greek version of the very short Acta Eupli, see H. Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs* 310-12, purporting to refer to a corrector Siciliae of AD 304. More references can be found in G. W. H. Lampe, *A Greek Patristic Lexicon* s.v. *κορρήκτωρ. He gives two to the letters of Isidore of Pelusium (*ob.* c. 435), i.e. Ep. i 116, ii 25. Others can be traced from entries relating to correctors of Augustamnica in J. Martindale etc., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* ii s.vv. Petrus 5 (iii 145, v 383), Sarapion 1 (i 15), and no doubt there might be more, since Pelusium lay in Augustamnica in Isidore's lifetime in the late fourth and early fifth century. There are no correctors of Augustamnica recorded in PLRE i, i.e. before 395, if the fasti of the provincial governors of Egypt are to be trusted (p. 1099).

The trace may be slightly more suitable to Ἄννια[νοῦ] than Ἄννι[οῦ], but there are no promising candidates for identification for either in PLRE i or ii. At this date a high official would probably have had more than one name in a context like this.

4386. RECEIPT FOR CONSTANTINOPLE AQUEDUCT TAX

68 6B.25/G(1)a

13 × 21 cm

393

Although something is known of levies to maintain the aqueduct of Constantinople, this receipt for just over four ounces of gold bullion or its equivalent for that purpose is the first evidence of such a thing in the papyri, or in the provinces, see 2 n.

Only the foot and the beginnings of ten lines survive. The loss on the right may be estimated from the consular formula in line 8 at about twenty letters, but the number of lines missing at the top remains unknown. The gold equivalent of the payment, four ounces and four(?) grams, is reasonably certain, as is the purpose, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγωγοῦ τῆς πανευδαίμονος [(Κωνσταντινίου?) πόλεως (2), 'for the aqueduct of the all-blessed city (of Constantine?)', but the exact nature of this receipt is not perfectly clear.

As I provisionally interpret it, this is a copy of a final receipt issued for the benefit of the payer by the provincial treasurer (χρυσώνης, 6) for a sum delivered to his assistant (βοηθός, 1, 5). When the payer, who may have been a private individual or a collector, made the delivery to the assistant, he received a receipt (ἀποχή), and gave a counter-receipt (ἀντάποχον, 5). The assistant delivered the payment to his principal, and with it the counter-receipt, which was to show that he, the assistant, had issued a correct receipt to the payer. The treasurer then issued his own receipt with an authentication in his own handwriting, τῇ ἰδίᾳ χερσὶ (= χειρὶ), 7. The purpose of this was that the payer should receive an assurance that the sum, which he had paid to the assistant, had arrived at its proper destination. This document, which is in one hand throughout, with the possible exception of the endorsement (11), and which refers to the autograph of the provincial treasurer (7), is not the original receipt but seemingly a copy of it, the purpose of which is not clear.

Enough of the consular date remains to guarantee the year, 393, but the month and day are lost at the end of line 9. The document was drawn up in Heracleopolis (10); this may apply to both the original and the copy, but need not apply to the copy.

βοηθο[ῦ] χρ[...]. ὀβρυζ. χρ...ον[
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγωγοῦ τῆς πανευδαίμονος [
 ὑπὲρ τῆς τρίτης καταβολῆς χρυσ[
 καὶ ἐξεδόμην σοὶ τὴν ἀποχὴν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν
 5 παρὰ Ἀμμωνίου βοηθοῦ τὸ ἀντάπ[ο]χ[ον
 υἱὸς Ἀρτεμιδώρου χρυσώνης ὑπ[ε]δεξάμην
 τῇ ἰδίᾳ χερσὶ. αἰ (ὀβγκία) δ'', γρ(άμματα) δ'' (vac.) [
 (vac.)

ὑπατίας τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀυγούστου
 τὸ γ'' καὶ Φλ(αοῦτου) Ἄβου<ν>δαντίου τοῦ [λαμ(προτάτου), (month, day)
 10 ἐν Ἡρακλέους.

Back, upwards along the fibres: (m. 2?) ἵσον ἀποχὴν τοῦ φολο... [

2,3 ὑπερ 6 υἱος 7 ἴδια; l. χερσὶ; αι, Γ, γρ/ 8 l. ὑπατείας 9 φλδ 11 l. ἀποχῆς?

'... assistant ... ὀβρυζ- ... in respect of the aqueduct of the all-blessed (city of Constantine?) ... for the third instalment ... and I issued the receipt to you for your security (having received?) from Ammonius, assistant, the counter-receipt. (I, ...) son of Artemidorus, treasurer, accepted receipt (and have countersigned?) in my own hand. Which (are): 4 oz. 4 gr.'

'In the consulship of our master Theodosius the perpetual Augustus, for the third time, and Flavius Abundantius, *uir clarissimus*, (month, day), in Heracleopolis.'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Duplicate of a receipt ...'

1 *βοηθο[υ]*. *βοηθό[ε]* is not possible: there is no gap between omicron and chi, so that the missing letter must have been the raised final upsilon which is the usual one in this hand.

This was presumably acknowledgement that the gold had been received through the agency of the assistant Ammonius, see 5; restore perhaps *διὰ Ἀμμωνίου βοηθο[υ]*.

After this one possibility is that we should restore *χρ[υ]σά[υ]γο[υ]*, with final upsilon again written high, as usual, but since this is a document issued by the *χρυσώνης* himself, see introd., such a solution may be unlikely.

δβρυζ. *δβρυζα*, cf. Lat. *obrussa*, has something to do with a test for the fineness of gold, and in some contexts is the name of an additional charge ostensibly for this purpose, see e.g. B. Kramer, *Archiv* 32 (1986) 45 n.l.15. The charge is mentioned by the partially parallel texts of P. Lips. 62, see below, in the phrase *μετὰ τῆς δμβρυζῆς*, but there seems no room for this here. The trace is the foot of a firm upright and is probably part of a mark of abbreviation.

In spite of the obscurity of this line, I imagine that the lost beginning followed to some extent the pattern of the receipts issued by the provincial treasurer of the Thebaid in P. Lips. 62, cf. 61 and SB X 10568. These are delivered to gold collectors (*ὑποδέκται*, except for the *officialis* in P. Lips. 61) and make no mention of counter-receipts, but record transactions somewhat similar to ours. The receipts begin with the name and titles of the treasurer in the nominative, the name and titles of the collector in the dative, and *χαίρειν*. Then come mention of the orders of the *praeses* of the Thebaid and first person acknowledgement of the receipt (*ὑπεδέξαμην*), specifying the intermediary and the name of the tax or levy; the last two we have here.

2 *τοῦ ἀγωγού*. One would be tempted to associate the aqueduct of Constantinople with the famous structure attributed to Valens, see especially W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* 273–7, cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine* 200, although an *aquaeductus Theodosiacus* is mentioned in C. Theod. VI 4.30, cf. Müller-Wiener, op. cit. 271. However, the early origins of the system and the history of the city's water supply have recently been studied by C. Mango, 'The Water Supply of Constantinople', in G. Dagron, C. Mango (edd.), *Constantinople and its Hinterland* 9–18, and he suggests that the bridge of arches known as the aqueduct of Valens is to be associated rather with an earlier stage in the process of bringing water into the city, see especially pp. 10–14 there.

On taxes and levies devoted to its maintenance see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 695–6, ii 1285, n. 17, cf. i 435 (Roman aqueduct fund), 533. There were levies on the *scalae*, perhaps landing-stages, see now also J. Kramer, *APF* 41.1 (1995) 62–5, of the capital and on some specialist artisans called *Cyziceni*, and some consuls had to make contributions in gold bullion, but nothing is known of the sort of levy revealed by this papyrus.

πανευδαίμωνος. The epithet is confined to the emperor and to the city of Constantinople, see F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* Abschn. 9 s.v. Restore perhaps *Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως*, cf. XXXIV 2732 14–15. This, at 18 letters, may be enough to fill the line, since the end of the consular formula requires twenty more letters to restore line 8. An alternative would be to restore *πόλεως* without *Κωνσταντίνου* (cf. P. Cair. Masp. I 67032.93, although that has *τῆδε τῆ π. π.*), to be followed by something else.

3 *τρίτης καταβολῆς*. For the customary payment of tax in three instalments see LI 3637 introd. This instalment will presumably have been payable in respect of the last four months, the third *quadrimestrium*, of the Egyptian year 392/3, roughly May to August, cf. LI 3628 5–6 n., which suggests that the receipt will have dated from the middle or the second half of the Julian year 393, see also below 8–9 n.

χρυσ[ε]. Restore possibly *χρυσ[ε] οὐ οὐγκίας δ', γράμματα δ'*, see 7. In this abbreviated form the length of the restoration about matches that of the consular formula in 8, which is our best guide.

4 For *πρό[ε] ἀφάλειαν* at this point compare the receipts issued by the provincial treasurer of the Thebaid in P. Lips. 62 i 12, 21, ii 7, 22. After this it looks as if there should have been an acknowledgement of the acceptance of the counter-receipt, e.g. *καὶ ἔσχον* or *ἔσχηκός* or *λαμβάνων*.

5 *ἀντάπ[ο]χ[ον]*. The word is very rare, see XII 1542 1, BGU III 974 (=W. Chr. 423).10, 15, 17. There is still much uncertainty on the subject of counter-receipts, sometimes called *ἀντιτίμβολα*, see U. Wilcken, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 2 (1902–3) 386, with W. Chr. 85 (=P. Gen. I 36).14 n., J. Herrmann, *Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie* iv (Pap. Brux. 19) 220–230, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Customs Duties* 9–11. For my tentative interpretation of the present case see introd.

After *ἀντάπ[ο]χ[ον]* we should probably supply a full stop, followed by the name of the provincial treasurer. The length probably indicates that he specified *nomen* and *cognomen*, cf. P. Lips. 62 i 21, 34, ii 7, 23 (*Κλαύδιος Ἀπ[ο]χ[ον]*); contrast ii 26, 32 (*Χοῦς*), but the patronymic in 6 almost implies the longer form.

6 *χρυσώνης*. See LV 3797 2 n.; add P. Laur. II 25.5 (293/4), now by far the earliest example. I guess that this was a first person declaration: supply e.g. *ὑπ[ε]δέξαμην καὶ ἐσημείωμαι τῇ ἰδίᾳ χερσὶ (=χειρὶ)*, 'I, ..., accepted receipt and have countersigned in my own hand'. This wording is not paralleled, but cf. e.g. P. Lips. 62 ii 23 for *ὑπεδέξαμην* and 32 for *ἐσημείωμαι*. It seems unlikely that the name of the province should be restored after *χρυσώνης*; this usually appears at the beginning and is omitted in the subscription. In this period we do not know which province is involved, see below 10 n.

7 *αἰ*. The abbreviation is a rapid ligatured version of alpha iota such as occurs below in *καί* (9) and above in *πανευδαίμωνος* (2). The nearest parallel I can cite seems to be in P. Bremen 83 iv 2, 4, 6. In each case the antecedent is *νόμισμα*, solidus, in the singular or plural, and the relative introduces the pure gold equivalent of the money payment; it is followed by *χρ[υ]σοῦ καθ(αροῦ)* plus weights in 2 and *καθ(αροῦ) χρ[υ]σοῦ* plus weights in 4 and 6. Wilcken comments on the lack of agreement between antecedent and relative, but no explanation is available. If this is a true parallel, it may suggest that the weight given here is the pure gold equivalent of a payment in solidi. Since the solidus should weigh four grams of pure gold, this weight represents one solidus and some uncertain fraction, depending on the purity of the gold or the weight of the actual coins.

8–9 For the consulship of 393 see R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 321. The only other papyrus of the year is dated by a post-consulship, Arcadius II and Flavius Rufinus, in Pharmuthi, March/April. This goes some of the way towards confirming that our item, for the third instalment of the year, is likely to be from the middle or the second half of 393, see above 3 n.

9 *Ἀβου(ν)δαντίου*. So too XIV 1712 1, in a post-consular formula for 394, but a photograph shows that it is not by the same writer. For the frequent trouble with nasals, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 119, id. *Actes des XIII Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* 137–146.

10 *ἐν Ἡρακλέους* (sc. *πόλει*). The fact that the receipt was issued in Heracleopolis does not help us to decide which province is concerned in this document. Oxyrhynchus was the metropolis of the province of Arcadia, but the date of its creation remains unknown, cf. LI p. 75 para. 3, 4371 introd. para. 3, 4385 introd. The earliest mention of it is in a document which has been newly interpreted and can now be dated to the period 397–399, see D. Feissel, *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991) 441–447, cf. J. Kramer, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 157–162. A new *terminus post quem* of 22 May 386 is offered by 4385, see introd. para. 3, replacing C. Theod. I 14.1, of 17 February 386, concerning the responsibility of the *praefectus Augustalis* for collecting taxes in the Thebaid and Augustamnica. The pointed omission of Arcadia can mean only that the region of Middle Egypt was still part of Augustamnica then. The *praeses*, later *corrector*, *Augustamnicae* probably had his main headquarters at Pelusium, see LV 3576 introd. and 10–12 n., but activity by him at Heracleopolis is attested, see 3577 12 and n. Similarly, Oxyrhynchus was the capital of Arcadia, see above, but activity of the *praeses Arcadiae* at Heracleopolis is very well attested, see LIX 3986 introd. The provincial treasurer might no doubt be as mobile as the governor and often in his entourage. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot decide whether this document concerns Augustamnica or Arcadia.

11 This puzzling endorsement is written in a large capital very different from the cursive style of the front. The letters which are unabraded are very clear. Presumably *ἀποχήν* needs to be corrected to *ἀποχής*; *το* seems clear enough, although there is some abrasion of the omicron. Next comes an upright rather closer to the omicron than to the probable phi, which is abraded at the left. This abrasion may have destroyed part of the previous letter, since the spacing does not seem right for *τοίφ*. There is also something that may be a trace of ink above the omicron, which might be taken to suggest a large Y-shaped upsilon, so perhaps we can justify reading *τοῦ φ*. Phi is very probable; *ολο* is clear; next is an upright with an oblique, top right to bottom left, cutting it at a steep angle, suggesting a deletion or at least correction. The last letter is represented by a generous arc, which must be part of omicron or sigma. No very convincing interpretation of the letters after *ἀποχήν* has been imagined, but perhaps there is a possibility that *τοῦ φορολόγου* was intended, i.e. 'duplicate of a receipt from the tax-gatherer'. Perhaps a syllable was omitted: *φο(ρο)λόγο[υ]*; or perhaps there was a metathesis of the liquids: *φορολόγου*. The word is a rare one and has only a general meaning, see XLVI 3273 2–3 n., with G. Wagner, J.-Y. Murratray, *BIFAO* 93 (1993) 407–411, but this may have been sufficient for the user's needs.

4387. ORDER TO SUPPLY WINE

100/151(a)

13 × 10.5 cm

6 November 401

This order is complete in seven lines, written across the fibres on what is probably the recto of the original roll, to judge subjectively from the smoothness of the written side and the roughness of the back, which is blank. There is no sign of a sheet join. The bottom edge looks like a clean cut, while the other sides seem rather to have been torn. This rectangular piece may have been a blank area in a used roll or document, taken out to serve for the order.

The points of interest are that the wine was to be delivered to a named *curiosus*, Palladius, and on the occasion of a visit from an Augustal prefect of Egypt, unfortunately unnamed.

Διοσκούριδος Λευκάδιος Ἀντινόου χ(αίρειν).
 παράσχου τῷ κυρ(ίω) ἀδελφῷ Παλλαδίῳ
 κουριώσου ἐν τῇ ἐπιδημίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου μου
 τοῦ Ἀγουσταλίου οἴνου σπαθ(ία) τριά-
 5 κοντα, (γίνεται) σπαθ(ία) λ''. (m. 2) σεση(μείωμαι) σπαθ(ία)
 (ἔτους) οἴ' μζ'', Ἄθῆρ ι. τριάκοντα
 οἴ(νου) σπ(αθία) λ''.

1. I. Λευκαδίου Ἀντινόου; χς- (χς cut through the middle by the horizontal) 2 κυρ/; I. ἀδελφῷ
 3 I. κουριώσου; επιδς 4 σπαθ, and so throughout 5 /=(γίνεται), σεσης 6 L =(ἔτους) 7 σ' επ'

'Dioscurides son of Leucadius to Antinous, greetings. Deliver to (my) lord brother Palladius, *curiosus*, during the visit of my lord the Augustal prefect, thirty spathia of wine; total spathia 30. Year 78/47, Hathyr 10.' (2nd hand) 'I have countersigned for thirty spathia: wine spathia 30.'

1-2 None of these people seem to recur in the series of P. Oxy., which is perhaps not surprising in view of the comparative rarity of fifth century papyri. Presumably Antinous is the addressee. It is possible that Leucadius is an alias for Dioscurides rather than a patronymic, but that seems less likely.

2 We expect τῷ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ, cf. 3; it seems unlikely that we should expand κυρ/ to κυρ(ίω μου), so perhaps we should insert <μου>.

3 On *curiosi* see M. Clauss, *Der Magister Officiorum* esp. 45-8; on the *cursus publicus*, A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 578-9, ii 1237 n. 34, J. Triantaphyllopoulos, *Atti XI Cong. Intern.* 249-59, F. Paschoud, *Bonner Hist.-Aug.-Colloquium 1979/81* 236-8. The papyrus references are P. Coll. Youtie II 74.4 (sing., III?), SB XVI 12252.5, 10 (plur., V), P. Vindob. Sijp. 22 verso 2, 3 (plur., V/VI), SB XVIII 13266.2 (sing., VI/VII), 14054.1,6 (sing. VI/VII). SB 12252 is interesting because it clearly concerns the activities of the *curiosus* in connection with the *cursus publicus*, see lines 5] . καὶ Θεοφίλω κουριώσου ὑπὲρ συνθη(ειῶν) δρομικῶν τῆς πα[ρούσης ιβς ἰνδικ(τιώνος), 'to ... and Theophilus, *curiosi*, in respect of customary dues for the *cursus* for the present 12th indiction ...', 10 κουριώσου ὑπὲρ συνθη(ειῶν) τῶν ἐξῆς ἀρχιτ[α]β[λιτών] τῆς (better -β[λιτών] δρόμου μου] ἦς?, see 14) Κα[υῆς, 'to ..., *curiosi*, in respect of customary dues of the following stable contractors of (the *cursus* of the *mansio* of?) Caene ...', 14 ἀ]ρχιταβ[λιταί]ς? better -ιτών', cf. 10) δρόμου μονῆς Κανῆς [, 'of(?) the stable contractors of the *cursus* of the *mansio* of Caene ...'. Although ed. pr. had κανῆς with a small kappa the *mansio* at Caene, see Itin. Anton. 156.5, was the next stop travelling north after the two stages in the Oxyrhynchite nome, namely Oxyrhynchus itself and Tacona to the north of it, see LX 4087-88 introd.,

esp. p. 194. (See already D. Hagedorn, BL VIII 380.) The location given as 'a 20 migliaia a sud di Eracleopoli' in A. Calderini etc., *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* iii 48, s.v. Κανῆ (4) is mistaken: that would take us back south to Tacona. Caene must have been in the region of Qāi, already north of Heracleopolis, although the earlier identification of Qāi with Caene has been rejected recently in F. Gomaā etc., *Mittelägypten zwischen Samalūt und dem Gabal Abū Sūr* (Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Beiheft B.69) 95, Karte 1 (M 119).

No doubt the *curiosus* appears in 4387 because the Augustalis was making use of the *cursus publicus* for his journey to Oxyrhynchus, see 3-4 n. Jones says that a law of 395, C. Theod. 6.29.8, limited the numbers of *curiosi* to one per province, but that this was no longer in effect by 412, C. Theod. 6.29.10. Clauss, op. cit. 46 and n. 110, argues that, since the law of 395 was taken over into the Codex Justinianus, the limitation was observed into the sixth century. The constitution of 412 he interprets as referring to a special category of *curiosi litorum*, who were in charge of overseas traffic, *ibid.* 47. We cannot tell whether this would have been the only *curiosus* in Arcadia at this date or not.

3-4 ἐν τῇ ἐπιδημίᾳ τοῦ ... Ἀγουσταλίου. This presumably refers to a visit of the Augustal prefect to Oxyrhynchus in the province of Arcadia, cf. J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile* 75-6, on ἐπιδημία.

This prefect had the same function as a vicar in the larger dioceses and had under him all the provinces of Egypt and Libya, see J. Lallemand, op. cit. 55-6, cf. 76-7. We do not yet know who was in office in 401, see the list in J. R. Martindale, etc., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* ii 1282.

4 σπαθ(ία). Cf. LVI 3854 3 n.

6 For year 78/47 = 401/2 see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 79, cf. 36-42.

For Hathyr 10 = 6 November see *ibid.* 97.

4388. HIRE CONTRACT FOR AN ANCHOR, A SPAR AND AN OAR

63 6B.62/L(2)a

14 × 18 cm

28 January 423

This is a contract between two skippers of boats belonging to some unspecified branch of the *domus divina*. Neither of them seems to be known from elsewhere. One hires from the other three essential items of nautical equipment: an iron anchor weighing two hundredweight and thirteen pounds, a spar twenty-four cubits in length, and an oar of sixteen cubits. The charge for the hire is to be paid in a liquid measured in sextarii; it is probably wine and the rate was probably ninety sextarii per month. The stated weight of the anchor is a particularly rare piece of information for this date, see 8-9 n.

For the hiring of nautical gear we can compare SB VIII 9833, of AD 299, which is a receipt for the hire of a boat's mast for one year, with an acknowledgement that the mast has been returned undamaged. The amount of the rent is not stated. The lender is a woman from some Oxyrhynchite village of the Lower toparchy (restore in line 4 only [ἀπὸ c. 8 letters τ]ῆς κάτω το(παρχίας), deleting κώμης Μουχιντάλης); the borrower is an ex-president of the town council of Oxyrhynchus. (SB 9833 is the revised text of P. Corn. 45, see N. Lewis, *TAPA* 91 (1960) 137-141.)

A sheet-join running vertically very near the right edge shows that the writing runs along the fibres of the roll from which the piece was cut.

τοῖς μ]ετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ὀνωρίου
 τῷ] ιγ καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ ι τῶν αἰωνίων Ἀγ(ούστων), Μεχείρ γ.

Αὐρ]ήλιος Ἄγαθος Ἀγάθου κυβερνήτης πλοίου
 τῆ]ς θειοτάτης οἰκίας Αὐρηλίω Αὐρηλιανῶ
 5 Ἀρτ]εμιδώρου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως κυβερνήτου
 πλ]οίου τῆς αὐτῆς θειοτάτης οἰκίας χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ
 π]αριληφέναι παρὰ σοῦ μισθωτικῶ δικαίω
 ἄγ]κυραν σιδηρᾶν ὀλκῆς κεντηναρίων δύο
 λι]τρᾶν δεκατριῶν πλέον ἔλαττον καὶ κερά-
 10 τι]ον ἐν πηχῶν εἰκοσιτε[σ]άρων καὶ κώπην
 μί]αν πηχῶν δεκαεξί, καὶ τελέω ὑπὲρ μισθο[ῦ
 . . .] .οσαν[. . .] κατὰ μῆνα ἕκα[σ]τον ἀπὸ νεωμη[νί-
 ας] Τῦβ[ι]ης ἕκτης ἰ[ν]δι[κ] (τίωνος) [ο]ἰ[ν]ου ξέστ[α] [σ]
 ἐνε]ργῆκ[οντα ἀκοι]λάντω[σ] καὶ ἀποκ[ατα-
 15 στή]σω 6-8 letters] . . . [.] ε . [.]

Back, upwards along the fibres of the verso:

] (vac.) Αὐρηλιαν

1 ὑπατιαν: 1. ὑπατεία 2 ανγ^L 5 I. κυβερνήτη 9 ελατ'τον 12 I. νεομηρίας 13 ἰ[ν]δι^K

'Under the (consuls) after the consulship of our masters Honorius for the 13th time and Theodosius for the 10th time, perpetual Augusti, Mecheir 3rd.'

'Aurelius Agathus son of Agathus (from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites?), skipper of a boat belonging to the most divine household, to Aurelius Aurelianus son of Artemidorus from the same city, skipper of a boat belonging to the same most divine household, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from you under right of hire an anchor of iron weighing two hundredweights, thirteen pounds, more or less, and one spar of twenty-four cubits and one oar of sixteen cubits, and I shall pay in respect of hire fee . . . each month from the first of Tybi of the . . . sixth indiction ninety sextarii of wine without interruption, (and I shall deliver . . .?)'

1-2 For the restoration of ποίς see PSI I 87.1 of 29 June 423; if it is right, the first line must have been set out to the left by the width of about two or three letters. P. Köln III 151.1 of 24 July 423 from the Cynopolite nome has only μετά. For the post-consular date see R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 381. For the conversion of Mecheir 3 to 28 January see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 98.

3 The other party to the contract is said to be 'from the same city' (5). Therefore we must assume that the origin of this one has been omitted by accident. The likeliest assumption is that both were from Oxyrhynchus itself, cf. 16 n.

4 τῆ]ς θειοτάτης οἰκίας, cf. 6. The most obvious possibility is that this sort of expression undefined refers to the emperor's own estates, cf. XVI 1973 5 (420), VIII 1134 4, 15 (421), SB VI 9102.37 (547-9), P. Vind. Tandem 18.30 (V/VI), P. Harr. II 239.3 (VI). This is not certain, because sometimes it occurs in specific connection with the households of women of the imperial family, P. Mil. II 64.4 (440, Arcadia), L 3585 4 (before 460, Eudocia), CPR V 18.6, 8 (538?, Theodora), P. Ant. III 188.3-4 (VI/VII, Placidia). No distinction seems intended between this formulation and θειότατος or θεῖος οἶκος, both of which are frequent. For a brief

summary of what is known about imperial estates in the Byzantine period see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 423-5.

7 μισθωτικῶ δικαίω. The lease form was used in the Byzantine period for the hiring of movable and immovable goods. For a brief statement see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*² 370-1 para. c: 'Lease and Hiring of Other Movables', a sub-section of 'B. *Locatio-Conductio of Movables*'.

8-9 ἄγ]κυραν σιδηρᾶν. On the development of the designs and materials of ancient anchors see M. Perrone Mercanti, *Ancorae Antiquae* 16-17, 63-6. Stone, wood and lead were used earlier and it was not till about the second century AD that anchors wholly of iron began to replace them. However, by the Byzantine period the iron anchor was the only generic type in common use. For the latest brief bibliography on anchors see F. Berti, *Fortuna Maris. La nave romana di Comacchio* 61 and n. 17 (p. 64), with fig. 12 (p. 63).

ὀλκῆς κεντηναρίων δύο [λι]τρῶν δεκατριῶν πλέον ἔλαττον. Assuming a Roman pound of 321 grammes (Jones, op. cit. p. xv) the weight of this would be 68.373 kilos, a very respectable weight for an ancient anchor, see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship* 252-8, although this one was presumably not intended for use at sea. The eleven iron anchors from the seventh century wreck at Yassi Ada are thought to have been based on a 'light' Roman pound of c. 290 grammes, like a set of weights found on board, see F. van Doorninck in G. F. Bass, *A History of Seafaring* 140-141. Here that would imply 61.77 kilos. For the illustrated account of their excavation see Bass and van Doorninck, *Yassi Ada* i 121-134, esp. 133-4, reckoning with yet another *libra* of 315 grammes.

9-10 κερά [τι]ον ἐν πηχῶν εἰκοσιτε[σ]άρων. The normal word for a yard or spar to carry a sail is κέρασ. I have not found another example of the diminutive form in this sense, but it is difficult to make a search because the same word is used so frequently as a weight standard for gold, 'carat'.

Although the word is a diminutive in form it is not likely that it is meant to imply that the timber was unusually small. Twenty-four cubits would be roughly 36 feet, or at .462 m. per cubit, see F. Hultsch, *Griechische und Römische Metrologie* 697, 11.088 metres, a substantial timber to set a sail on.

10-11 κώπην [μ]ίαν πηχῶν δεκαεξί. The number is fairly certain; it can hardly be δεκαέν for δεκαενός, and a curving descender seems to be visible, although faintly. At the same rate of .462 m. per cubit, this would have been 7.392 metres, nearly 24 feet. Again this is a large item, implying a sizable Nile boat. Since it is so big and singular, the suspicion arises that a steering oar is meant, but in that case there is a question why the word πηδάλιον was not used.

11-12 ὑπὲρ μισθο[ῦ]οσαν[. . .]. No parallel has been found for this damaged passage. I have considered restoring ὑπὲρ μισθῶ[μ]ατος ἀφ'τῶν, but the word μίσθωμα has not yet occurred in the papyrus.

12-13 νεωμη[νί]ας (I. νεομηρίας) Τῦβ[ι]ης ἕκτης ἰ[ν]δι[κ] (τίωνος). The space is too wide for Τῦβι τῆς ἕκτης ἰνδ. only. On the other hand it is too narrow for τῆς παρούσ]ης ἕκτης ἰνδ. or for τῆς εὐτυχο]ῦς ἕκτης ἰνδ., which last in any case does not suit the trace. Writing in Mecheir the clerk cannot have meant Tybi of the past or of the future sixth indiction. Perhaps he wrote τῆς αὐτῆς ἕκτης ἰνδ., cf. 5, where he writes τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως without having mentioned the name of the city before that.

Since indiction 6 = 422/3, Tybi 1 of the sixth indiction is 27 December 422, see Bagnall, Worp, op. cit. 80, 98. The first payment is backdated from 28 January 423. It is not clear if the goods have been in the lessee's possession or if this is an extra payment as a premium.

13 The liquid measured in *sextarii* is very likely to be a monthly supply of wine.

14 ἐνε]ργῆκ[οντα]. The first trace is not unambiguous; the roundness of it might favour omicron, for δγδ]ρήκ[οντα], but nu is probably better, and ninety is more suitable as one month's supply, implying a rate of three sextarii per day.

16 This faded and abraded endorsement is placed unusually, not nearer to one of the edges but near the middle of the width of the document, written upwards along the fibres. It seems clear that there was blank papyrus before the legible part, which may mark the centre of the endorsement and so indicate that the broken lower edge was about half way down the height of the sheet. What is legible is part of the name of the owner of the gear, Aurelius Aurelianus son of Artemidorus. This at any rate implies that the surviving copy of the contract belonged to the borrower, Aurelius Agathus, which with the find-spot gives some sort of corroboration to the suggestion that he was an Oxyrhynchite, see 3 n. The puzzling remains of about five letters or symbols after the nu do not look like part of a case ending, nor has anything been read which seems sensible. One might look for the patronymic or a note of the goods on hire, anchor, spar and oar, or the amount of the rent, such as οἴ[νου] ξέ[στ]αι ρ, but nothing has been successfully deciphered. It is not certain whether the writing ended here or whether some more has been abraded.

4389. ORDER TO PAY

30 4B.36/H(3-5)a

16 x 6.5 cm

9 March 439

This is an order to make two disbursements to a craftsman; one was in wheat and the other in money representing the price of two *sextarii* of oil, see 3 n. The main interest lies in the name of the person who authorizes the payment, Strategius, in conjunction with the date. This name is not confined to the famous Apion family, but there is an evident prospect, see 1 n., that this is the Strategius who has emerged comparatively recently as being in all probability the earliest known representative of the family which held large estates at Oxyrhynchus till 619, when the last known member of it died, see LVIII 3959 introd. This document would then be the earliest evidence for the family.

The format is a narrow horizontal strip, unfortunately incomplete at the right; the width may well have been about 30 cm, cf. 4391, while only c. 16 cm survive. The writing runs across the fibres, but there is no sheet-join to prove which side was the recto of the original roll. The surfaces are rough on both sides, but perhaps the written side is slightly smoother and so more likely to be the recto.

Στρατήγιος (vac.) []
 παράσχου Ἡρακλείω καλυβᾶ ἐργαζ(ομένω) εἰς τὸ ἀνάκλητον τοῦ π[]
 καὶ ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) ἐλαί(ου) ξ(εστῶν) β ἀργυρίου μυριάδας ἑκατὸν
 * πεντήκοντα, γί(νονται) εἰ(του) . []

(ἔτους) ριε πδ, Φαμενώθ ιγ.

2 ἐργαζ/ 3 τιμ(ε)λαί/ξ/β, γι/ε. [4 L = (ἔτους)

'Strategius (to ...). Deliver to Heraclius, cabin(?)-maker, working on (at?) the ... of the ... and in respect of the price of two *sextarii* of oil one hundred and fifty myriads of money, total wheat ... Year 115/84, Phamenoth 13.'

1 Στρατήγιος. The name is well known in the family of the Apions, see J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 61-75. In an addendum on p. 75 Gascou pointed out that the Strategius who appeared in L 3584-6 is a previously unknown representative of the family and the earliest known, perhaps the father of Flavius Apion I (J. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* ii 110-111). In 3584 he appeared as a *πολιτευόμενος* of Oxyrhynchus, in 3585 he was *comes sacri consistorii* and curator of estates of Aelia Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II. Eudocia, who died in 460, is entitled 'our most pious and most noble mistress', a formula which indicates that she was still alive. A fragment published by S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 69 (1989) 46-7, which refers to possessions of the same empress, was very probably addressed to this Strategius as *comes*. In 3586 he is again *comes* and curator of estates of an empress, unnamed, it seems, but probably Eudocia again. A further fragment, P. Heid. IV 331 of 465, is addressed to Strategius as *comes* and landowner at Oxyrhynchus. The editor, D. Hagedorn, writing independently of Gascou, see P. Heid. IV p. 219 n. 1, came to similar conclusions. A document of 469, published below in this volume, is addressed to the daughter and heiress of a Strategius 'of glorious memory' and alternatively 'of magnificent memory', who is probably the same (4390, cf. 4391). If he died between 465 and 469, then it is quite possible that our document of 439 is the earliest dated document to attest him. It is also possible that the early fifth century Strategius *πολιτευόμενος*, cf. L 3584 2, mentioned in another Oxyrhynchite document, P. Heid. IV 314 ii 6, is this same earliest representative of the Apions, and P. Mil. II 64 = SB VI 9503 of 440, addressed to a *πολιτευόμενος* who was curator of estates of Arcadia, daughter of the emperor Arcadius, could also be considered as another possible reference

to him. It was already known that the 'glorious household' of the Apion family went back at least to the middle of the fifth century, see Gascou, op. cit. 61 and n. 339. Some details of the genealogy remain uncertain. Flavia Isis is specifically called the daughter of a high-ranking Strategius who was dead by 14 December 469 (4390). Gascou, op. cit. 75, wrote that the Strategius of L 3584-6 'could very well be' the father of Flavius Apion I. Apion I does not appear until 492 and died between 524 and 532. If Apion I is the son of Strategius and brother of Flavia Isis he must have been young, perhaps very young indeed, in 469.

At the end of the line we have lost the name and/or description of the recipient of the order, cf. 4391 1.

καλυβᾶ. *καλυβᾶς* is an *addendum lexicis*. For the type see L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 49-50, F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 16, 18-19. In this case ἐργαζ(ομένω) shows that it denotes a craftsman, a maker of *καλύβαι*. A *καλύβη* is a lightly constructed building, a cabin, hut, pavilion. In the papyri it seems sometimes to be built on the roofs of houses, BGU I 305.14, 18, see G. Husson, *OIKIA* 122, cf. 65, and P. Neph. 48.12. In XIV 1675 8 it is a summerhouse or shed in a garden, (φοίνικι) τῷ ἔξ ἀπηλιώτου τῆς καλύβης τῆ[] ἐγ γειτόνων τῆς αἰλῆς. It has been taken to mean some sort of cabin superstructure on a Nile boat, see e.g. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship* 341-2 n. 66, citing P. Flor. III 335.2 (new edition in *CE* 25 (1950) 99-101, whence SB VI 9365.2) and P. Fay. 104.9. This would suggest the restoration of π[λοίου] at the end of the line, but comparison of these documents, accounts of two Nile voyages (to Alexandria via Schedia?), suggests rather that *καλύβης* is an internal customs charge, probably exacted at more than one place, since P. Fay. 104.9-10 have *καλύβης* α [(i.e. πρώτης?), δευτέρας [, 'for (at?) the 1st tollbooth (?) ... , for (at?) the second ...']. However, π[λοίου] is still perhaps a possibility, because there is one undoubted reference to a *καλύβη* on a seagoing ship, see Casson, op. cit. 180 and n. 64, citing Achilles Tatius, *Cleitophon and Leucippe* 5.13.3, ἰδία δὲ ἐμοί τε καὶ τῆ Μελίτῃ καλύβη τις ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ σκάφους περιπεφραγμένη.

The word has also been used as a place name, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 76, s.vv. *ΚΑΛΥΒΗC*, *Μεγάλης Κ*.

ἀνάκλητον. In spite of the split in the papyrus the remains of the dotted letter compared with the same sequence of strokes in Ἡρακλείω strongly suggest lambda. LSJ records *ἀνάκλητος* only as a translation of Latin *euocatus* by Cassius Dio, cf. H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* 21. Perhaps more likely is a phonetic writing of *ἀνάκλιτος*, 'for reclining', which remains of very doubtful meaning here, but would have something to do with leaning or reclining, and might refer to reclining at table. One might think, perhaps, of a sort of pergola to be used for eating outside in favourable weather. Or it might even mean a 'lean-to', a light structure built against an existing wall, but this is all speculation.

Peter Parsons has drawn my deficient attention to G. Goetz, *CGL VII (Index)* p. 453 *ἀνάκλιτον fulcrum*, *pluteus*. P. 99 s.v. *pluteus* refers to II 152.33, *Pluteum ανακλιτον θυμελη πλοίου*. VI p. 473 s.v. *fulcrum* refers to II 74.8 *fulcrum ανακλιτον (ἀνάκλιτον ε)*, II 526.24 *fulcrum.anacliter. (ἀνάκλιτον ε)*, III 321.1 *ανακλιθρον fulcrum*, and III 197.12 *anaclyton fluctum*. According to the Latin dictionaries, *OLD* and *Lewis and Short*, the meanings of *fulc(t)rum* and *pluteus* seem to converge only when they relate to part, most clearly the back, or the whole, of a chair or couch. In Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Vita Alex. Magni*, iii 22.2, the *ανακλίντηρα* or *ανακλι(ν)τά* of the manuscripts must be part of the dining furniture, like the preceding *κλυτήρες* and the following *τράπεζαι*. In Cosmas Indicopleustes, II 103B, a marble monument which he found at Adulis included τὸ κάθισμα καὶ τὸ ἀνάκλιτον τὸ ὄπισθεν τοῦ θρόνου. This may agree with the terminology of Gregory of Nyssa, (ed. H. Langerbeck) vi p. 210, expounding on Solomon's litter (φορέιον) in the Song of Songs 3.9-10 (κύλους αὐτοῦ ἐποίησεν ἀργύριον, καὶ ἀνάκλιτον αὐτοῦ χρύσειον), when he writes τὸ πρὸς τῆ κεφαλῇ μέρος, δ ἀνάκλιτον προσγύρευεν and τὸ ἀνάκλιτον τὸ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑποβαῖνον.

These and numerous rather unspecific passages found by searching the *TLG* compact disc vaguely suit my earlier speculation about a dining room or banquet house. However, *θυμελη πλοίου* (*CGL* II 152.33) looks different. The only meaning of *θυμέλη* which seems at all possible is that of 'stage', see LSJ s.v. II.c. If it suggests a structure in wood, probably raised, it might be envisaged as a form of decking on a boat, but this idea is not very attractive or convincing. On the other hand it could possibly take us back to cabins on boats, if we could contemplate emending *θυμελη* to *θαλάμη*, which usually means 'lair, den', and occurs only once, in Luc., *Nav.* 2, as the equivalent of *θάλαμος*, the ordinary word for a cabin or compartment of a ship. A. Crugnola, *Scholía in Nicandri Theriaca* 130 (284d) has *θαλάμην οἶκον, κοιτώνα, τρώγλην f*, but the meaning in Nicander is of course *τρώγλην*. The *Suda* (ed. A. Adler) ii p. 680.12 has *Θαλάμη, καὶ Θάλαμος, οἶκος, ἢ κοιτῶν*, and then goes on to quote AP vi 220.15-16, where *ἱρὴν ... θαλάμην* refers to a cult chamber promised to Cybele. This is poetry and has a special motive in that it is to be dedicated to the goddess for saving the speaker's life in a lion's den, but certainly it has nothing to do with boats. On Egyptian *θαλαμηγοί* see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship* 341-2. He equates the *θάλαμος* with a light structure visible on a boat shown

in the famous Palestrina Nile mosaic, see M. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* ill. 510, and this is typical of many of the boats shown in the Egyptian representations. Dilwyn Jones, *Boats*, understandably calls them deckhouses rather than cabins, see his index and illustrations, cf. id. *Model Boats from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamun*, where many of the plates show cabins, and for a specially grand surviving ancient boat with a cabin see Nancy Jenkins, *The Boat beneath the Pyramid* ill. 84-91, Colour Plates IX-X. They are in fact places for the passengers or crew to rest, sitting or reclining, which might explain the superficially odd equivalence of ἀνάκλιτον with θάλαμος/θαλάμη.

At the end of the line we have lost an amount of wheat, which was to have been given to the craftsman in addition to the money mentioned in the next line, see 3 ad fin.

3 There are no fifth century oil prices listed in A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt. Economic Studies* 181-2, so that this one is of interest and may be more useful as the evidence grows. If two sextarii are valued at 150 myriads of denarii, the price per sextarius is 75 myriads or 500 talents (1 talent = 1500 denarii). For 390 we have a case where one solidus was reckoned as the equivalent of 40 sextarii of oil, see XIV 1753, cf. R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* 67. At around the same period a *libra* of gold was the equivalent of about two million talents, see op. cit. 62, a solidus therefore, at 72 to the pound, was about equal to 27,777.77 talents, and a sextarius of that oil would have been worth about 694.44 talents. The variables and incalculables are obviously legion, but broadly this seems to conform with the view that inflation had reached a plateau about this time, see Bagnall, op. cit. 46-7.

(γίνονται) c(του) . [. After the totals of wheat and money we have lost a countersignature confirming the amount of the disbursement, cf. 4391 3 ad fin.

4 For the conversion of year 115/84 of the Oxyrhynchite era to 438/9 see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 81, cf. 36-42, and for Phamenoth 13 = 9 March see ibid. p. 99.

4390. LEASE OF LAND

47 5B.44/D(2)a

29 x 30 cm

14 December 469

The lessor in this document is a new member of the landowning Apion family, Flavia Isis, daughter of a Strategius 'of glorious memory'. This is evidently the earliest known Strategius of the line, the one who is himself a comparatively recent discovery, see 4389 1 n. If 4389 is rightly attributed to him we now know that he was active by 439 and dead, probably recently dead, by the date of this lease. Isis herself also occurs in 4391 of 15 January 471.

The object leased is said to be an irrigation machine, with the associated nineteen and a half aruras, but essentially it is a lease of land, see LV 3803 introd.

A sheet-join running vertically c. 13 cm from the left edge shows that the writing runs along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut.

ὑπατία Φλαουῶν [Ζ]ήνωνος [κα]ὶ [Μα]ρκιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρο(τάτων),
 Χοίακ ιη, η ἰνδικ(τίωνος).
 Φλαουῖα Ἰσιδι τῆ λαμπρο(τάτ)ῃ θυγ[α]τρὶ καὶ κληρονόμῳ τοῦ τῆς
 ἐνδόξου μνήμης
 Στρατηγίου γεουχούση ἐνταῦθα τῆ λαμπρᾶ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρυχιτῶν
 πόλει διὰ
 Ἀρεωβίνδου οἰκέτου τοῦ καὶ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῆ ἰδία
 δεσποίνῃ

5 τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐπερωτήσεως ἀρμόττουσαν ἀγωγὴν τε καὶ ἐνοχὴν, παρὰ Αὐρηλίου
 Ἀπολλῶ{c} υἱοῦ Ἰακῶβ ἀπὸ κώμης Μερμέρθων τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. ἐκουσίως
 ἐπιδέχομαι
 μισθῶ<ca>σθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ρμς ριε, σπορᾶς τῆς ἐνάτης
 ἰνδικτίωνος,
 ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῆ εἰς λαμπρότητι τῶν καὶ περιελθόντων εἰς αὐτὴν
 ἀπὸ δικαίου κληρονομί[ac] τοῦ τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς μνήμης σου πατρὸς ἐμ
 πεδίου
 10 τῆς ἡμετέρας κώμ[η]ς δλόκληρον μηχανὴν ἐξηρτικμένην πάση ἐξαρτία
 καὶ σιδηρώμασιν κ[α]ὶ τὰς ὑ[π]ο[ε]τελλούσας ταύτη ἀρούρας δεκαεννέα
 ἧμις, οὔσας
 ἐν διαφ[ό]ροις τοποθεσι[α]ς οὕτως: ἐ[δ]άφους Μενθ[η] δ' ἀρούρας ἐννέα
 καὶ ἀπὸ
 γεω[ργίου] Ἀβρααμίου [. . .] ε . ἐν τ[ῷ] αὐτῷ ἐδάφει ἀρούρας ἐξ ἧμις
 καὶ ἀπὸ
 γεω[ργίου] [.] [.] οὐ ἀρούρας δύο καὶ ἐξ
 ἑκατέρωθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ,
 15 βορ[ρᾶ] c. 20 letters] . . . [.] γίνονται (ἄρουραι) ιθ
 [(ἧμις)] ε[ι]ς c[ρ]ο[σ]ρὰν ὧν
 ἐὰν αἰρῶμαι γεν[ημάτω]ν [καὶ τελέσω ὑπὲρ φ]όρου [.] [. . .] .
 κύτου
 ἀρτάβας ἐβδ[ο]μήκοντ[α] πέ[ν]τε καὶ [c. 30 letters
 λαχανοπέριμου ἀρτ[ά]βας τρεῖς τέταρ[τον] c. 30 letters
 20 κύτου ἀρτάβας πέντε [ἧ]μι[ς] καὶ [c. 30 letters
 ἀρτάβας τρεῖς τέταρτο[ν] χ[ρ]οῖνικας δύο c. 20 letters ἀκίνδυνα
 πάντα παντὸς κινδ[ύνου], τ[ῶ]ν τῆς γῆ[ς] δημοσίων] ὄντων πρὸς τὴν εἰς
 λαμπρότητα,
 τῆς [ἀ]ναβολῆς τῶν γ[α]ουῖων οὔσης [πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν] μεμ[ισθωμένον]. κυρία ἡ
 μίσθωσις
 δις c[ρ]ο[σ]ρὰ καὶ ἐπερωτ[ηθεὶς] ὡμ[ολόγησα.] (m. 2) Αὐρήλ[ιος]
 Ἀπολλῶς
 25 πεποίημαι τὴν [μίσθωσιν] καὶ τε[λέ]σω τὸν φ[ό]ρον καὶ συμφωνεῖ μοι πάντα
 ὡ[ς] c[ρ]ο[σ]ρὰται. Ἀβρ[η]λῖος [.] ἔνωτος ἀξ[ι]ωθεὶς
 ἔγραψ[α]
 c. 25 letters] . . μα[ρτυρῶ] τῆδε τῆ μισθ[ώ]σει

c. 30 letters

μαρτυ]ρῶ τῆδε τῆ [μισθώσει

] (vac.) [

(vac.)

] δι' emu Phoebamm[onis ...

Back, downwards along the fibres:

30 (m. 1?) + μισθ(ωσις) Ἀπολλῶτος ἀπὸ κ[ώμης Μερμ]έρθων.

1 ὑπατία: 1. ὑπατεία; λαμπρῶ/, ὠδικ/ 2 ἱεῖδι 5 -στ' τουσαν 9 1. ἐν πεδίοις 15 / =
(γίνονται) 20 1. τρεῖς 25 1. πρόκειται 30 μισθ

'In the consulship of Flavius Zeno and Flavius Marcianus, *uiri clarissimi*, Choeac 18th, 8th indiction.'

'To Flavia Isis, *femina clarissima*, daughter and heiress of Strategius of glorious memory, who holds land here in the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Areobindus, slave, who puts the formal question and provides for his own mistress the appropriate conduct of and responsibility for the transaction arising from the question, from Aurelius Apollon son of Jacob from the village of Mermertha of the same nome. I voluntarily undertake to hold on lease from the present year 146/115, for the sowing of the ninth indiction, from the property belonging to Your Ladyship which has devolved upon you by right of inheritance from your father of magnificent memory, in the fields of our village an entire irrigation machine fitted with all its equipment and ironwork and the nineteen and a half aruras dependent upon it, which are in different sites, as follows: in the ground of Menthy nine aruras, and from the farm of Abraham ... in the same ground six and a half aruras, and from the farm of ... two aruras, and on either side of the road, on the north ... (on the south?) ... (together two aruras), total ar. 19½, for the sowing of whatever crops I choose and I shall pay in respect of rent ... seventy-five artabas of wheat and ... three and a quarter artabas of vegetable seed ... five and a half artabas of wheat and ... three and a quarter artabas and two *choenices* of ... all free of every risk, the public charges on the land being the responsibility of Your Ladyship, the raising of the irrigation earthworks the responsibility of me the lessee. The lease, written in two copies, is binding, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent. (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Apollon, have made the lease and I shall pay the rent and I concur in everything as aforesaid. I, Aurelius ..., son of ...eon, at his request have written ... (3rd hand) I ... witness to this lease. (4th hand) I ... witness to this lease. (5th hand) Through me, Phoebammon ...'

Back, downwards along the fibres: 'Lease of Apollon from the village of Mermertha.'

1 For the conversion of the date to 14 December 469 see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 83, 97.

2-3 Flavia Isis was not known from elsewhere; see now also **4391**. She is a *femina clarissima* (λαμπροτάτη) by descent from her father, here described as τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης (2) and τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς μνήμης (9), which imply that in life he had the honorific epithets *gloriosissimus* and *magnificentissimus*. The obvious assumption is that he is the same Strategius who has emerged comparatively recently in the papyri, see **4389** 1 n. On the use of the epithet λαμπροτάτη see A. Arjava, *Tyche* 6 (1991) 17-35, esp. 26-27, cf. J. Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance* ii 130-9, 402-3.

4 Ἀρεωβάνδου. This famous German name is a surprise here, but it is difficult to know what deduction or speculation to make.

οικέτου. See the discussion of this term by I. Fikhrman in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. VII) 71-2. The probability seems to be that the intermediary was a slave of the landowner.

4-5 ἐπερωτώντος ... ἐνοχήν. A similar, but less full, clause is found in many later Apion documents. For ἀρμόζουσα ἀγωγή cf. **4397** 14-15, with T. Gagos, P. van Minnen, *Settling a Dispute* 103-4. The intermediary in all documents of the main branch of the family from 523 to 619 is named as the οἰκέτης Menas, see LVIII **3935** 7 n.

6 Μερμέρθων. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 103-5. We now know also that this village was assigned to the first *pagus*, see LV **3795** 19, incorporated into the latest list, P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 69 (1989) 113-8, and, not yet incorporated in any list, LXI **4128** 3, 6-7.

7 Year 146/115 = 469/70, see Bagnall, Worp, op. cit. 83-4, cf. 36-42. The ninth indiction is 470/471; crops sown in late 469 would be harvested in early summer 470, but the taxes on them would be accounted to the indiction of 470/471.

12 The ἔδαφος Μερμῶ is not known from elsewhere.

13-14 γεω[ργίου]. See M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 42 'Un γεώργιον paraît être un champ et un τόπος, un lieu-dit d'étendue variable; à l'époque byzantine, ce dernier peut désigner une église ou un monastère'. She has a short list of named γεώργια on p. 379. Here presumably it means something like a field or a farm.

This term has not been found in papyri from Oxyrhynchus before, except in P. Col. VIII 238.30 ἀπὸ γεωργίου [A]πολλωνίου. It does occur in the Hermopolite nome, and since Mermertha was in the southernmost section of the Oxyrhynchite nome, nearest to the Hermopolite, its appearance here may be a sign of Hermopolite influence. The place called Νετνήου, found in P. Col. 238.13, 16, 17, was also in the south of the nome, see LV **3804** introd. p. 96, so that the same argument applies.

16 [καὶ τελέσω ὑπὲρ φ]όρου. See LI **3639** 14, cf. SB VI 9561.22. In **3639** the next word is ἐνιαυτίως, also close in SB 9561, which would suit the trace and fill probably all of the following gap, i.e. read ἐ[νιαυτίως], but this would leave a short passage,], [. . .], before εἴτου ἀρτάβας, which is hard to restore. The first trace is the top of a tallish upright, the end is]ω or] α.

16-20 It is not clear which parcel of land paid which amount of rent. The parcels were of 9, 6½, 2 and 2 aruras.

18 λαχανοσπέρμου. This is a vegetable seed which was pressed for its oil, see A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 3, n. 12. The oil is probably the one known as ελαιον ραφάνων or ρεφάνων, cf. P. Mich. XI 613.4 n.

20 τέταρτο[ν χ]οίνικας δύ[ο]. The last trace is minimal, but since ten *choenices* make a quarter of an artaba, δέκα and the other figures in the teens are excluded.

22 τῆς [ἀ]γαβολῆς τῶν ἰ[αου]ίων. Cf. P. Berl. Zill. 7.26 n.

29 This notary has not been found in J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im Byzantinischen Ägypten*. The handwriting does not match that of the other known Oxyrhynchite notaries called Phoebammon listed there on p. 87, nor does it match the unread names of suitable date on p. 89, nos. 25.9.2 to 25.11.1.

30 It is usually assumed that endorsements, however different in style, are in the same hand as the body of the document, see LVIII **3933** 41 n. In this case it may be more likely that the subscriber, lines 23-5, wrote the endorsement too. This is suggested especially by a distinctive ligature from omega to tau in τε[λέ]ω τὸν φόρον (24) and Ἀπολλῶτος (30). The letters in the endorsement are much bigger.

4391. ORDER TO SUPPLY WINE

30 4B.36/G(1-2)b

7.5 × 30 cm

15 January 471

The order was issued by Isis, *femina clarissima*, who is evidently the same interesting person as the lessor in **4390**, see also **4389** 1 n. She instructs a vinedresser from the hamlet of Phatemet to issue to unnamed persons four hundred and twenty-nine double jars of wine (διπλά), which are valued at eleven gold *solidi*, at a rate, therefore, of thirty-nine double jars per *solidus*. The nature of the transaction is not clear because of an obscurity in the language of the document, see 3 n., but it looks as if the persons concerned had paid for their wine in advance, that is at the time of the vintage, and were now able to collect it in a drinkable condition, cf. **4392** introd.

The writing runs across the fibres of the recto, as is shown by a sheet-join running horizontally c. 1.5 cm from the lower edge. The left and right edges are not much worn, so that the height of the roll from which the strip was cut was just about 30 cm.

Ἰσις λαμπρο(τάτη) (vac.) ἀμπελουρ(γῶ) ἐποικ(ίου) Φα(τε)μήτ.
 παράσχου τοῖς ἄρασι εἰς πᾶσι ἀπὸ ῥύσεως ἐνάτης ἰνδικτίωνος ὑπὲρ [Ϟ]ῶ
 χρυσοῦ νομισματίων ἕνδεκα δοθέντων
 ὑ(πὲρ) τιμη(ῆς) τρύγγης οἴνου διπλ(ᾶ) τετρακόσια εἴκοσι ἐννέα, (γίνονται)
 δι(πλᾶ) υκθ μό(να). (m. 2) (γίνονται) οἴνου διπλᾶ τετρακόσια
 (ἔτους) ρμζ ρις, Τῦβι κ'', θ ἰνδικτίωνος). (vac.) εἴκοσι ἐννέα.

Back, along the fibres:

5 Φατεμη(ν.)τ.

1 λαμπρ/ο, ἀμπελουρ/εποικ/ /ῥυκθμο//, / 2 ἄρασι?; υδ// 3 ὑτιμ (no mark of abbreviation?), διπλ., 4 L, υδ//

'Isis, *femina clarissima*, to the vinedresser of the hamlet of Pha(te)met. Deliver to the persons who took (them) by way of purchase (?) from the pressing of the ninth indiction, in consideration of eleven *solidi* of gold given in respect of the price at the vintage, four hundred and twenty-nine double jars of wine, total: double jars 429 only. Year 147/116, Tybi 20th, 9th indiction.'

(2nd hand). 'Total: four hundred and twenty-nine doubles of wine.'

Back. 'Phatemet'.

1 For Isis *femina clarissima* see 4390 2-3 n., cf. 4389 1 n.

ἀμπελουρ(γῶ). The singular is recommended by παράσχου (2) and there is no doubling of the rho, as one might have expected if the plural were intended. However, it seems odd to address such an order to a single unnamed vinedresser, and one might expect the plural, cf. P. Genova II 2-3 τὸ διδόμενον ... εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: 1. ἐκκλησίαν) ἐποικ(ίου) Ἰερέων ... πόλιν τὸς ἀμπελουργοὺς παρασχέιν.

ἐποικ(ίου) Φα(τε)μήτ. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 213. Fortunately the endorsement (5) shows that a syllable has been omitted. The place appears also as Φατεμη(ν); here there is an extra wave between eta and tau, but it does not seem to be a nu. On the back there is a blank space between eta and tau, but no nu. The word was probably written after the order was folded up and tied and the blank space is where the binding was; a nu may have stood on the binding, cf. LVIII 3932 introd. para. 4.

Sometimes this name appears with a mark like an apostrophe which is used at the end of indeclinable Egyptian names, see E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* p. 13 (=ed. 2, p. 11), and which has often been taken for a sign of abbreviation. As a result Φατεμη(ν)τ(ο) is sometimes printed, a form for which there is no evidence.

2 τοῖς ἄρασι εἰς πᾶσι. The reading seems clear, but the meaning is not clear and the verb is uncertain. The form ἄρασι suggests that it is from the aorist participle of ἀραρίσκω or ἄρω. The first would be mysterious in meaning here and is unheard of in the papyri except in ἄρμενον, 'tackle, gear, sail' (e.g. LIX 3990 9), and ἄρμενα, 'surgical instruments' (4001 31). The second would produce a possible meaning, 'to those who did the irrigation', but the verb is again unheard of in the papyri in spite of the plethora of references to irrigation, see specifically D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil* 214. There may be some possibility that it is a mistaken form of ἄρασι, the participle of ἄρω; F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 305, para. 4a, records the insertion of inexplicable sigmas in the perfect middle-passive of συναίρω: συνήρθη (BGU III 975.15), [ε]σνήρθη P. Lips. 27 (=M. Chr. 293).15, and συνήρθη (sic, SB VI 9740.17).

Even if this is correct the meaning is not entirely clear. Possibly the order is to deliver wine to the bearers (of the chit) for sale, i.e. for them to sell, or more probably it means that they have taken it by way of purchase, i.e. have already bought it at the price mentioned below, in advance of delivery, cf. 4392.

ῥύσεως. See N. Kruit, *ZPE* 90 (1992) 272. The word refers to the 'flow' of the liquid, initially the must, so that perhaps 'pressing' is the easiest English equivalent.

ἐνάτης ἰνδικτίωνος. The ninth indiction is 470/471, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 84, that is, the wine was made from grapes grown during the earlier part of 470 and harvested in the autumn. The date of this order falls in the period, December to March, during which the new wine was expected to be ready to drink, see N. Kruit, *ZPE* 90 (1992) 273.

[Ϟ]. This is the abbreviation for νομισμάτιον, which the clerk deleted by writing the chi of χρυσοῦ over it in order to write out the sum in words.

2-3 For wine prices see A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt. Economic Studies* 179. There is only one dated fifth century example, which is not directly comparable because the sum is expressed in talents and the jars are cnidia. A sixth century example, PSI IX 953, gives thirty dipla for one *solidus*, which is a dearer rate, but of course there remains the usual uncertainty over the comparability of the wines.

4 For the conversion of year 147/116, Tybi 20th to 15 January 471 see Bagnall, Worp, op. cit. 84 (cf. 36-42), 98. Cf. above 2 n., para. 4.

The countersignature could be in the hand of Isis herself, but could equally be by a clerk superior to the one who wrote the body of the order.

4392. FRAGMENT OF SALE IN ADVANCE OF DELIVERY

100/172(a)

12 × 14.5 cm

14 January 479

This fragment comes from a standard type of document, acknowledging receipt in advance of the price of some commodity which is to be delivered when the harvest takes place or when, as in the case of wine, the product is ready for use. The fundamental article on the type, which has since been much studied, is that by R. S. Bagnall, *GRBS* 18 (1977) 85-96; recently it has again been studied carefully and its provisions compared with those of work contracts by A. Jördens in P. Heid.V pp. 296-341, with a long list of documents 296-301: add LXI 4132, LXII 4349 (with more bibliography); on wine sales see also N. Kruit, *ZPE* 90 (1992) 265-76.

Here the damage is so great that we learn very little about the transaction. The interest lies in the date clause, since this is the first papyrus of AD 479 to be published. It shows that the consulship of Illus, the notorious minister of the emperor Zeno and shortlived usurper, see J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* ii 586-590, was known in Egypt by 14 January 479, shortly after the end of his year of office, see R. S. Bagnall, etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 491, where it was observed that it was then not clear whether the news of his consulship had ever been disseminated in Egypt. The nearest preceding consulship in the papyri is of the period 15-23 June 478 (P. Rainer. Cent. 123), and is dated still by Armatus, a consul of 476; the next following is of 28 January 480 (PSI VI 703), dated by a postconsular reference to the emperor Zeno's third consulship in 479, see Bagnall, etc., op. cit. 491, 495.

The writing runs along the fibres. There is a sheet join running vertically c. 3 cm from the left edge, which shows that the written surface is the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut. The back is blank, so far as it is preserved, although it is quite likely that such a contract would have had an endorsement.

]ΧΜΥ⁻
 + μετὰ τ]ὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαουίου Ἰλλου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου),
] (vac.) Τύβι ιθ, βς ἰνδ(ικτίωνος).
 Αὐρήλιου]ι [.] θις υἱὸς Ἰωάννου καὶ Φοι[β]-
 5 βάμμων υἱὸς] μετ' ἐγγυητοῦ εἰς ἀπόδοσιν
 τοῦ ἐξῆς δηλουμένου ἐμο]ῦ Αὐρηλίου
 c. 15 letters ο]ἱ πάντες ὀρμώμενοι ἀπὸ ἐποικίου
 τοῦ Ὀξυρυγίτου νομοῦ Αὐρηλίω Ἐπιφανίω
 υἱῶ πραγματευτῆ ἀπὸ τῆ]ς μεγαλ[οπό]λεως Ἀλεξανδ[ρεί]α
 10 τὰ νῦν χρηματιζομένω ἐνταῦθα τῆ λαμπρᾶ] καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ
 Ὀξυρυγίτων πόλει. ὁμολ]ογοῦμεν ἐξ ἀλ<λ>ηλεγγύης
 ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ ἐ]γτεῦθεν τὴν πρὸς
 ἀλλήλους συμπεφωνημέ]γην κ[αί] ἀρέεσσαν |¹⁴ [ἡμῖν τιμὴν ...

2 ὑπατίαν: 1. ὑπατείαν; φλαουίουἰλλου, λαμπρ/ 3 ἰνδ/ 4 υἱοῦἰωάννου 5 ἐγγυητοῦ: 1.
 ἐγγυητοῦ; ἀπόδοσιν: second o corr. from ω 11 ἀληλεγγύης: 1. ἀλληλεγγύης

'After the consulship of Flavius Illus, *uir clarissimus*, Tybi 19th, 2nd indiction. Aurelius (Patermu?)this son of John and Aurelius Phoebammon(?) son of ..., with as guarantor for the delivery (of the (product) specified below) me, Aurelius ... (son of) ..., all from the hamlet of ... of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Eriphanus (son of) ... (trader from?) the capital city of Alexandria (now conducting business here in? the glorious) and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. We acknowledge upon mutual security that we have received from you on the spot the (price) which has been agreed between the parties and found satisfactory to us ...'

1 ΧΜΥ⁻ After much commentary this Christian symbol remains without an entirely satisfactory explanation, cf. 4394 1 n.

2-3 For the consulship of Illus in 478 see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 84, with R. S. Bagnall, etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 490-493. For the second indiction of 478/9 and for Tybi 19 = 14 January see Bagnall, Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 84 and 98.

The nominative of the Isaurian name is doubtful: 'Ἰλλου or Ἰλλοῦ is favoured over Ἰλλο in G. Dagron, D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* p. 54 n. 23.

The same name has been newly read in yet another Cilician inscription, but it is not likely that it refers to the same person, see H. Taeuber, *JÖB* 42 (1992) 247-8.

4 The name [Πατερμο]ῦθις would suit the length of the gap and the traces very well.

Φοι[β]-. The last three letters are faint. I guess that the clerk wanted to wash out the beta in order to correct the syllabification and accidentally sponged over the two preceding letters.

6 Cf. P. Hamb. III 221.12-13 εἰς ἀπόδοσιν τοῦ ἐξῆς δηλουμένου οἴνου ἐμοῦ κτλ. Wine is the product concerned in almost half of all the surviving documents of this type, see P. Heid. V p. 303, and is therefore the most likely one here, but we cannot be certain.

8 An Aurelius Eriphanus son of the late Joseph from Oxyrhynchus is mentioned in X 1320, of AD 497, but no connection with Alexandria appears and there is no great likelihood that he is the same person as Eriphanus here.

9-11 The restorations, which are not certain, are based on XVI 1880 5-7 Αὐρήλιος Κῦρος υἱὸς Λεωντίου (1. Λεοντίου) πρ[α]γμ[α]τε[υ]τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς μεγ[α]λ[ο]πό[λ]εως Ἀλεξ[α]νδρίας (1. -είας) τανῦν χρηματιζόμενος[ε] (1.

-όμενος) ἐνταῦθα τῆ λαμπρᾶ [Ὀ]ξυρυγίτων [π]όλει; cf. 1881 8-9, where he is described only as *Κύρου ἀπὸ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως πραγματευτοῦ*. This activity could quite well suit the present contract. The restorations here may be rather long. Although the wording could be shortened by way of conjecture, it seems better to keep to the model and emphasize that it may not be right in every particular.

11-13 For the restorations see P. Heid. V pp. 307-8.

4393. PETITION TO A πατήρ πόλεως

100/147(b)

23 × 30 cm

Fifth century

This is the first Egyptian document to illustrate the functions of a πατήρ πόλεως, although the title has been recorded before, and it is also probably the earliest document to attest it for Egypt, see 1 n. It is a petition from a widow who alleges that her son is wrongly trying to impose on her a part of a debt which was contracted by her late husband, her son's father. She asks for a hearing before the *pater civitatis*. At first sight this looks like an entirely legal matter, although the *pater civitatis* is known rather for his concern with municipal finances, see C. Roueché, *GRBS* 20 (1979) 173-185, esp. 182-5. However, the debt may be connected with city and government finances; the widow claims to have pledged her daughter for the sum of seven *solidi* due in respect of the *χρυσάργυρον*, the tax on traders which was payable in gold and silver bullion. This practice is still apt to startle us in spite of the good evidence for it, see 14 n.

There is no sheet join, but the text seems to be written along the fibres of the recto. The back is blank.

Φλαο[υ]ἰ[ω] Φοι]βάμμωνι πολιτενομένω πατρὶ π[ό]λεως Ὀξ[υ]ρυγίτου
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἀηοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.
 τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ὑπεξῆλθεν ὁ ἐμὸς ἀνὴρ ἐποφίλων
 χρέα. ὁ δὲ υἱὸς μου Αἰών, γυναῖκα{ν} εἰς[τ]ῆ ἀγαθῶ[ν] καὶ
 5 ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ εὐπορίας τῶν π[ρα]γμ[α]μάτων
 εὐρών, μελετᾷ ἐπικλᾶσαι ἐμοὶ τῆ μητ[ρ]ῆ μέρους
 τοῦ χρέους, ἀντιποιούμενος καὶ τοῦ γονικοῦ μου
 οἰκῆματος. ὅθεν πα[ρ]ακαλῶ σου τὴν (vac.)
 10 στερρότητα ὥστε κελεύσαι τούτον παραστήναι,
 ἐπειδήπερ καὶ περιποιήσατο ἑαυτῶ πράγματα,
 ἔχοντα καὶ τοὺς νηπίους ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ συνκά-
 μνοντας, καὶ ἀκροάσασθαι ἡμῶν καὶ τύπον
 δίκαιον παρασχεῖν. φαίνομαι γὰρ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ[ν] ἐν τῷ χρυσαρ-
 γύρω ὑποθεμένη τὸ θυγάτριόν μου εἰς τέσσαρα χ[ρ]ύ]σινα.
 15 (m. 2) Αὐρηλία Ἀηοῦ ἐπιδέδωκα.

3 ὑπεξῆλθεν; 1. ἐποφίλων

4 υἱὸς

11-12 1. συγκάμνοντας

14 ὑποθεμένη

To Flavius Phoebammon, *curialis*, *pater ciuitatis* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelia Aëu from the same city. My husband departed mortal life owing debts. My son Aion, having found and taken to himself a wife in consequence of his father's abundance of property, is scheming to fix a part of the debt on me his mother, claiming also my parental home. Therefore I request your Severity to give orders for him to be brought before you, since he has in fact taken possession of property for himself, bringing also with him his brothers, who are children and who are acting in concert with him, and (I request you) to give us a hearing and provide a just ruling. For I appear in the chrysargyron records on his behalf as having pledged my daughter for four gold *solidi*.

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelia Aëu, have submitted (the petition).'

1 Φλαο[υ]ῆ[φ]. This status indication probably goes with the title of *pater ciuitatis*, since *πολιτευόμενοι* were usually Aurelii, but it is not quite certain, since the Flaviate became more widespread in the fifth century and it is not always possible to see with which posts it was associated, see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 13 (1974) 290–293.

A Phoebammon who before his death had been a *curialis* is mentioned in VI 902 (=M. Chr. 72) of AD 464: τοῦ [τῆ]ς μακαρίας μνήμης Φοιβ[ά]μμωνος τοῦ πολιτευσαμένου (4). We cannot be sure of the identification, especially since that document concerns officials and inhabitants of the Upper Cynopolite nome, but since territory was transferred from the Oxyrhynchite to the Cynopolite in the fourth century, see 4384 3–4 n., there must have been many links, and 902 was found in Oxyrhynchus, so that it may be possible that the identification is correct and gives us a *terminus ante quem* for this document. Whether this is so or not, the upright official cursive hand of this document can hardly be later than the fifth century, which sets it earlier than the other allusions to the *pater ciuitatis* in the papyri, see below.

πολιτευόμενος. Cf. 4376 3 n.

On the *πατήρ πόλεως* see P. J. Sijpesteijn, 'The title *πατήρ* (τῆς) πόλεως and the Papyri', in *Tyche* 2 (1987) 171–172, D. Feissel, 'Nouvelles données sur l'institution du *πατήρ τῆς πόλεως*', in G. Dagron, D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* 215–220, 264, C. Roueché, 'A New Inscription from Aphrodisias and the Title *πατήρ τῆς πόλεως*', *GRBS* 20 (1979) 173–185.

The references collected by Sijpesteijn fall into two categories, firstly four sixth century texts addressed to the owners of large estates who hold the *πατερία* in cumulation, usually, with other ostensibly municipal posts, such as the *λογιστεία* and the *προεδρία*: SB XVIII 13947 (*ZPE* 62 (1986) 133–4) of 517, see Sijpesteijn, op. cit. 171, *ZPE* 71 (1988) 123–4, XXXVI 2780 of 553, SB XII 11079 of 571, and perhaps CPR X 127 of 584, and secondly two seventh century receipts Stud. Pal. III 67 and 176. 2780 is certainly a private transaction, which has little to do with the titles held by the recipient Flavia Gabrielia. The others, receipts and deeds of surety, may have some connection with state or municipal functions, but it is not possible to see what the connection might be. Some reserve should be maintained about the reading of CPR X 127.6 as [πα]τ[ερ]ε[υ]ο[ύ]σ[α]ι[ε], see the doubts expressed in the publication p. 151.

The combination of *πολιτευόμενος* with *πατήρ πόλεως* may be reflected in the anonymous Life of Alexander the Acoemete, which implies that Rabbula bishop of Edessa, who died in 435, had been *πολιτευόμενος* and *πατήρ πόλεως* before becoming bishop; this is a suspect source, see D. Feissel in G. Dagron, D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* 218, but the terminology at least is made respectable by 4393. (Dr Gagos has kindly allowed me to refer in advance to P. Mich. XVIII 795, where a Pelusiate is described as τὸν πολ(ιτευόμενον) καὶ πατέρα. The text is undated but probably belongs in the late fifth or early sixth century.)

2 It appears from 15 that *Ἀηοῦ* is indeclinable, but it is probably a variant of *Ἀηοῦς*, *Ἀηοῦτος*, which is usually masculine, e.g. P. Athen. 24 (=P. Sakaon 94).3 Ὁρείων Ἀηοῦτος μητρὸς Ἡρώτος, but may be feminine, see P. Mich. XV 734.5–6 Φιβ ... μητρὸς Ἀηοῦτος.

3 τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ὑπεξῆλθεν. The meaning is obvious, 'he slipped away from human affairs', i.e. he died, but no other instance of this particular euphemism has been located. Cf. Just. Nov. 112 cap. 1.19 ff. ὡστε, εἰ συμβαίῃ ἕνα τῶν ... δικαζομένων, τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀπόντα πραγμάτων, διὰ τελευταίας βουλήσεως πράγματά τινα ... ὀνόματι ληγάτου τινὶ καταλιπεῖν, ... τηνικαῦτα τὸν ληγάτριον ὅπερ αὐτῷ καταλέλειπται ... κομίζεσθαι.

4 γυναῖκα{ν}. For phonological and orthographic problems with nasals, see F. T. Gignac, *Akten des XIII Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* 137–146, especially 142–3 on this phenomenon. Reading *γυναῖκα νέαν* [has been considered, but this leaves the traces before *ἀγαγῶ* [ν] unexplained. For *ἐαυ[τ]ῆ ἀγαγῶ* [ν] cf. M. Chr. 63.3–4 ἡγαγόμεν ἑμαυτῷ γυναῖκα, with WB I s.v. *ἄγω* (15).

8 οἰκῆματος. The meaning is rather vague. The word can connote an independent building, or an annexe to some principal building, or part of a building, see G. Husson, *OIKIA* 183–6.

9 *στερρότητα*. Cf. L 3581 21 and n., P. Rainer Cent. 99.12, G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. (4), L. Dinneen, *Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistolography* 102. G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* vii 643 (index s.v.) gives the Latin equivalents *grauitas*, *seueritas*, *stabilitas*. In P. Mich. VII 460 (=CPL 182 = P. Cugusi, *Corpus Epistularum Latinorum* i No. 225, ii p. 333 n.l. 9).9 *grauitas uestra* is used as a title of address, but it is not clear from the damaged fourth century document what post was held by the addressee. The same title appears in several sixth century documents from Italian sources, see P. Ital. I and II indexes; in those it mostly refers to municipal bodies. P. Rainer Cent. 99 (451) is addressed to a riparius of the Hermopolite nome, 3581 to a tribune appointed as a peace officer at Oxyrhynchus, possibly with the title of *ἐπιτεταγμένος τῆ εἰρήνῃ*, see 4381 9 n.

11–12 *συνκείμενον* (l. *συνκ-*). Cf. P. Cair. Masp. II 67158.16, 67159.23, for the meaning, 'co-operate'.

13–14 The elaborated paragraphus was added under line 13, which probably ended at *παραχεῖν*. The same hand added the final sentence, *φαίνομαι* to *χ[ρ]ύ[σ]ινα*, beginning on the same scale and in the same style, but becoming more cursive and more cramped, especially at the ends of the lines. Line 14 is therefore added over the paragraphus.

On the chrysargyron see L 3577 introd. p. 193, R. S. Bagnall, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 15–17, id. *Egypt in Late Antiquity* 153–4, I. F. Fikhman, *ZPE* 103 (1994) 29 n. 46. Cf. 4381 6.

14 On pledging children for money to pay taxes see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 853–4, with 1357 n. 71, cf. 1043–4.

χ[ρ]ύ[σ]ινα. The dictionaries do not reveal that, as with *δλοκόττωνος* and *δλοκόττωνον*, both *χρύσινος* and *χρύσινον* are found frequently in the papyri meaning *solidus*.

15 The hand of this subscription, presumably written by the widow herself, since there is no subscription by an amanuensis, is practised and competent, only a little less formal than the main hand.

4394–4395. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

These two long contracts relating to loans were rediscovered, still rolled up, in an unmarked box, and were unrolled by Dr Shelagh Jameson in 1981, cf. LV 3804 introd. They have in common, each time as a borrower, the character of Flavius Julianus, *clarissimus tribunus*, *notarius sacri palatii*, a resident of Alexandria. All the circumstances relate to Alexandria and its vicinity; there is nothing to explain why they should have been found at Oxyrhynchus, although that is likely to have been the case. It is not quite certain, because Grenfell and Hunt bought papyri occasionally and excavated at other places. However, they were usually careful to leave a written indication of these provenances. Probably these were part of their large find of Byzantine rolls in the first season of excavation at Oxyrhynchus in early 1897, like LV 3804–5, also without an inventory number, and they simply found themselves more attracted by the possibilities of the classical and theological manuscripts than the prospect of unrolling yet more Byzantine accounts or wordy contracts.

4394. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF LOAN

No inv. no.

30 × 545 cm

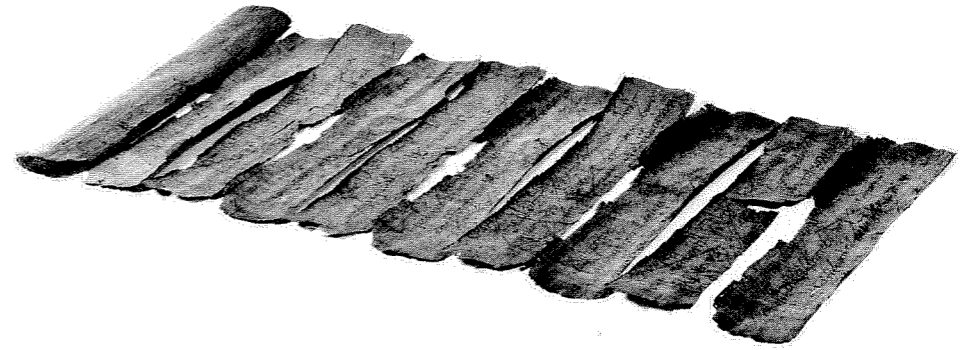
494–500

Apart from the interesting protocol of lines 1–5, see n., and in lines 250–256 the final acknowledgement by the lender that the loan had been repaid, dated to 15 February 500 by the name of the consul of 499, the text has been cancelled by a latticework of rapidly and roughly made lines. The date of the main body of the contract is given as

13 July 494, but after that there is a long preamble giving the history of the transaction to that date (12–86). Flavius Julianus, *clarissimus tribunus, notarius sacri palatii*, a resident of Alexandria, whose copy of the contract this was, sharing the liability jointly and severally with another Alexandrian resident, Flavius Olympiodorus, *scholasticus* and advocate in the court of the Augustal prefect of Egypt, borrowed money from Flavius Maximinus, who was another *scholasticus* and advocate in the same court, on 22 August 492. The original sum was the very large one of one thousand, four hundred and fifty-five solidi, which represents more than twenty Roman pounds of gold. The interest rate was $\frac{1}{2}\%$ per month, 6% per annum, and after twenty-two full months without any payments of interest the amount of the loan had grown to one thousand, six hundred and fifteen solidi. On the date of the present contract Julianus surrendered to Maximinus in part repayment two orchards valued at six hundred and seventy-five solidi, leaving still outstanding nine hundred and forty solidi. The original contract of 492 was cancelled and returned to Maximinus as evidence of the length of the loan and the present document was drawn up acknowledging that Julianus and Olympiodorus still had on loan nine hundred and forty solidi at the same rate of interest, reckoned from the first day of the Egyptian month eighteen days earlier than the date of the contract, until they should make full repayment of capital and interest. They acknowledged the right of Maximinus to demand repayment whenever he chose, accepted a mortgage of all the property of both of them now and in the future, and finally swore an oath by Almighty God and the piety and victory of the emperor Anastasius that they would accept the contract as binding.

The roll is written to be read opening away from the reader, that is, with the writing parallel with the shorter dimension, see E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16) 26–51. It is made up of twenty-four sheets, the first of which is a protocollon attached with the fibres at right angles to those of the rest. This is 13 centimetres deep and the writing, although its orientation is the same, runs along the fibres of the inside of the roll, while in the rest the writing runs across the fibres of the recto. There are twenty-three joins, twenty-two sheets of full width ranging between 21 and 26 cm, most of them from 22 to 24 cm, with an incomplete and broken sheet of about 17 cm at the end. I have not detected in any of the joins any sign that the roll has been extended from the standard roll of twenty sheets implied by Pliny, *NH* xiii. 77, cf. N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 37, 54–5, E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* 4. The back is blank.

It may be worth noting that this document is exceptional in having been found rolled up with the beginning inside, hence the preservation of the interesting protocol, although it was also by some good luck well enough protected to retain, in a more broken state, the closing dated acknowledgement of the return of the loan. The illustration below shows most of the papyrus at an early stage of the unrolling, but does not include the more broken pieces of the end of the roll.



- (m. 1) Φλ(άουϊος) Κλημεντίνος
 μεγαλοπρε(πέστατος) κόμ(εσ) καὶ ἀπὸ ὑπ(άτων)
 χαρτ(-) Ἀλεξ(ανδρ-) ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιε
 5 δι . . ρ . εϛ . (vac.)
 (vac.)
 +
- (m. 2) τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαουίου
 Εὐσεβίου τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) τὸ β,
 Ἐπίφ ἐνεακαιδεκάτη,
 10 ἰνδικ(τίωνι) τρίτη, ἐν τῇ λαμπρο(τάτη)
 καὶ φιλοχρ(ίστ)ῳ Ἀλεξ(ανδρεία) τῇ πρὸς Αἰγ(ύπτῳ).
 Φλάουϊο Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ λαμπρότατος
 τριβο[ῦ]νος νοτάριος τοῦ θείου
 παλατίου, υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας
 15 μνήμης Εὐσεβίου, ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς
 μεγαλοπόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας,
 οἰκῶν ὄπιθεν τοῦ μαρτυρίου
 τοῦ ἁγίου Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου
 ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις, καὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρος
 20 ὁ ἐλλογιμώτατος σχολαστικός,
 συνήγορος τοῦ Ἀὐγουσταλιανοῦ
 φόρου, υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης

μνήμης Εὐτυχianoῦ, οἰκῶν
 πλησίον τοῦ Μεγάλου Τετραπύλου
 25 ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις, ἀλλήλων ἐγγυηταὶ
 καὶ ἀλλήλων μανδάτοραις,
 Φλ(αουῖω) Μαξιμίνω τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ
 καὶ ἔλλογιμωτάτῳ σχολαστικῷ,
 30 συνηγόρῳ τοῦ Αὐγουσταλιανοῦ
 φόρου, υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης
 μνήμης Γαίου, ὁμολογοῦσεν
 τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα. (vac.) κατὰ τὴν
 ἐνάτην καὶ εἰκάδα τοῦ Μεσορῆ
 μηνὸς τῆς πρώτης ἰνδικτίονος
 35 ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατίας τοῦ δεσπότη
 ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Φλ(αουῖων)
 Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰωνίου
 Αὐγούστου τὸ πρῶτον καὶ Ῥούφου
 τοῦ λαμπροτάτου οἱ προγεγραμμένοι
 40 Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ λαμπρότατος καὶ
 Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ ἔλλογιμώτατος
 ἀλληλέγγυον ἐξέθεντο
 γραμματεῖον εἰς Μαξιμίνον
 τὸν ἔλλογιμώτατον σχολαστικὸν
 45 κεφαλαίου νομισμάτων χιλίων
 τετρακοσίων πενήτηκοντα
 πέντε τόκον ἐπερωτηθέντες
 ἡμικατοστιαῖον. δραμόντων δὲ
 ἐξ οὐπερ τὸ γραμματεῖον συνετέθη
 50 ἄχρει τριακάδος τοῦ παρελθόντος
 μηνὸς Παῦνι τῆς παρούσης
 τρίτης ἐπινεμήσεως μηνῶν
 εἴκοσι δύο, συνήχθη λόγῳ τόκων
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρέους νομίματα
 55 ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα, ὡς συντείνιν
 τὰ τε τοῦ κεφαλαίου καὶ τῶν τόκων
 εἰς νομισμάτια χίλια ἑξακόσια

δεκαπέντε. (vac.) τούτων οὕτως
 ἐχόντων ὁ προγεγραμμένος
 60 λαμπρότατος Ἰουλιανὸς ὑπὲρ
 ἑξακοσίων ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε
 νομισμάτων παρέσχετο
 Μαξιμίνω τῷ ἔλλογιμωτάτῳ
 κηπία δύο καὶ τὰ συγκυροῦντα
 65 αὐτοῖς πάντα σὺμ παντὶ αὐτῶν
 τῷ δικαίῳ κείμενα ἐν τῇ
 Ταφοκριακῇ ταινίᾳ πρὸς τῇ
 καλουμένῃ Γλύκαις ἦτοι Ὑδρηγοῖς
 πλησίον τῆς Μαρίας λίμνης
 70 ἀκολουθῶς τῇ περὶ τούτου
 γενομένη εἰς αὐτὸν ἀσφαλείᾳ
 κατὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν καὶ
 προγεγραμμένην ἡμέραν,
 ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐνεακαιδεκάτη
 75 τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Ἐπιφ τῆς
 παρούσης τρίτης ἰνδικτίονος.
 περιστάντος οὖν τοῦ χρέους
 μετὰ τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων
 κηπίων καὶ τῶν συγκυρούντων
 80 αὐτοῖς καταβολὴν εἰς ἐννακόσια
 τεσσεράκοντα νομίματα
 εὖσταθμα, κεχάρακται μὲν
 τὸ πρότερον γραμματεῖον
 καὶ ἀπέμεινεν παρὰ Μαξιμίνω
 85 τῷ ἔλλογιμωτάτῳ διὰ τὴν τῶν
 χρόνων ἀπόδειξιν, ἀναγκαίως δὲ
 τόδε τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐξέθεντο
 οἱ προγεγραμμένοι Ἰουλιανὸς
 ὁ λαμπρότατος καὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρος
 90 ὁ ἔλλογιμώτατος σχολαστικός,
 δι' οὗ ὁμολογοῦσεν ἔχειν
 καὶ χρεωστῆν τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς

ἀλληλεγγύης καὶ τοῦ μανδάτορος
 Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἔλλογιμωτάτου
 95 τὰ ἀπομεμενηκότα μετὰ τὴν
 τῶν εἰρημένων κηπίων
 καὶ τῶν συγκυρούντων αὐτοῖς
 παράδοσειν λόγῳ κεφαλαίου
 χρεωστούμενα νομίσματα
 100 ἔννακόσια τεσσεράκοντα
 εὔσταθμα καὶ διδόναι τούτων
 εἰς τὸν ἕξῃς χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν
 ἡμικατοστιαῖον μηνιαῖον
 τόκον ὄνπερ εἶχεν καὶ τὸ
 105 πρότερον γραμματεῖον μέχρει
 τελείας ἀποδόσεως τῶν
 ἔννακοσίων τεσσεράκοντα
 νομισμάτων ἀκοιλάντως,
 ἀριθμουμένου τοῦ πρώτου
 110 μηνὸς ἀπὸ γεομηνίας τοῦ ὄντος
 μηνὸς Ἐπίφ τῆς παρούσης
 τρίτης ἰνδικτίονος, (vac.) τὰ δὲ
 ἔννακόσια τεσσεράκοντα
 νομίσματα εὔσταθμα διδόναι
 115 καὶ καταβάλλειν τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ
 καὶ ἔλλογιμωτάτῳ σχολαστικῷ
 Μαξιμίνῳ καὶ παντὶ τῷ
 κυρίως τὴν μεθοδίαν ποιουμένῳ
 ἡνίκα ἂν ἀπολαβεῖν βουληθῆι
 120 ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ δίχα τῆς
 τυχούσης παρολκῆς καὶ ἀντιλογίας
 καὶ δίκης καὶ κρίσεως καὶ παντοίας
 νομίμου παραγραφῆς, (vac.) καὶ μὴ
 ἐξεῖναι αὐτοῖς βουλομένου
 125 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔλλογιμωτάτου ἀνδρὸς
 ἀπολαβεῖν τὸ χρέος καὶ τὴν
 μεθοδίαν ποιουμένου

ὑπερθέσθαι περὶ τὴν
 ἀπόδοσιν, οὐκ ἦττον τῶν
 130 ἔννακοσίων τεσσεράκοντα
 νομισμάτων εὔστάθμων
 διδόναι ἢ κοιλᾶναι κἂν ἓνα μῆνα
 τὴν χορηγίαν τοῦ ἡμικατοστιαίου
 τόκου ἢ λέγειν τι δεδωκέναι
 135 χωρὶς ἐγγράφου ἀποχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ
 ἔλλογιμότητος ἢ λυτρώσεως
 τοῦδε τοῦ γραμματείου. (vac.) εἰ δὲ
 ὑπερτιθεμένων αὐτῶν
 περὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ἀναγκασθῆι
 140 ὁ αὐτὸς ἔλλογιμώτατος ἀνὴρ τῆς
 μεθοδίας χάριν δικαστηρίοις
 χρησάμενος ἢ καὶ ἐκτὸς
 δικαστηρίου ἀναλώματα
 ἢ ζημιώματα ποιήσασθαι,
 145 ὁμολογοῦσεν Ἰουλιανὸς
 ὁ λαμπρότατος καὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρος
 ὁ ἔλλογιμώτατος κατὰ ταῦτα
 σύμπαντα ἀλληλεγγύως διδόναι
 καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαι τῷ αὐτῷ
 150 ἔλλογιμωτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ κατὰ τὴν
 αὐτοῦ πίστιν, (vac.) καὶ γίγνεσθαι τὴν
 περὶ πάντων εἰσπραξίν κατὰ τὰ
 προγεγραμμένα Μαξιμίνῳ τῷ
 ἔλλογιμωτάτῳ σχολαστικῷ
 155 καὶ παντὶ τῷ κυρίως τὴν
 μεθοδίαν ποιουμένῳ ἔκ τε
 Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ
 Ὀλυμπιόδωρου τοῦ ἔλλογιμωτάτου
 καὶ παρ' ὁποτέρου αὐτῶν
 160 ἐνεχομένου τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς
 ἀλληλεγγύης καὶ τοῦ μανδάτορος
 καὶ οὐκ ἐλευθερουμένου ἀπὸ

ἐπιλογῆς ἢ προκατάρξεως
 ἢ διαδικασίας ἢ μερικῆς καταβολῆς
 165 εἰ μὴ διὰ τελείας ἀποδόσεως
 καὶ παρὰ κληρονόμων αὐτῶν
 καὶ παντοίων διαδόχων καὶ
 διακατόχων καὶ ἐκ τῶν
 ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑπαρξόντων
 170 κεινητῶν καὶ ἀκεινήτων καὶ
 αὐτοκεινήτων, ἅτινα καὶ νῦν
 ὑπέθεντο τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐλλογιμότητι
 γενικῶς καὶ ἰδικῶς ἕκαστον
 ἐνεχύρου ὑποθήκης δικαίῳ.
 175 καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο θεὸν τὸν
 παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν
 εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τοῦ
 καλλινίκου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος
 ἡμῶν δεσπότης Ἀναστασίου
 180 τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγγούστου κύριον
 φυλάξαι τόδε τὸ γραμματεῖον
 καὶ μὴ αἰτιάσασθαι αὐτὸ ἢ μέμψασθαι
 τρόπῳ μηδενὶ καὶ εἰς τὰ
 προγεγραμμένα πάντα ἐπερωτηθέντες.
 185 Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ λαμπρότατος καὶ
 Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ ἐλλογιμώτατος
 ὑπὸ Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἐλλογιμωτάτου
 σχολαστικοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον
 ὡμολόγησαν. (vac.) ἐγράφη
 190 παρὰ Ζωσιμῆ συνπράττοντι
 Ἰωάννη συναλλαγματογράφῳ
 πεδατούρας οἴκου Καίσαρος. Ϝ (m. 3) Φλ(άουιος) Ἰουλιανὸς
 ὁ λαμπρότατος τριβ[οῦνος] τ[ο]ῦ [θε]ί[ο]υ παλατίου υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς
 μακαρίας
 μνήμης Εὐσεβίου ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἐθέμην τόδε τὸ γραμματεῖον
 195 ἅμα Ὀλυμπιόδωρῳ τῷ ἐλλογιμωτάτῳ σχολαστικῷ ἐξ ἄλλη-
 λεγγύης εἰς καὶ Μαξιμίνον τὸν ἐλλογιμώτατον σχολαστικὸν

καὶ ὁμολογῶ κατὰ τὴν προκειμένην διήγησιν ἔχιν καὶ χρε-
 ωστῶν τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς ἀλληλεγγύης καὶ τοῦ μανδάτορος τῆς σῆς
 ἐλλογιμότητος τὰ ἀπομεμενηκότα μετὰ τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων
 200 κηπίων καὶ τῶν συνκυρούντων αὐτοῖς παράδοσιν λόγῳ καιφαλαίου
 χρεω[στο]ύ[μ]ε[να] τ[ῆ] [c]ῆ [ἀρετ]ῆ [χ]ρ[ύς]ι[να] ε[ὔ]στ[α]θμα
 ἔννακόσια τεσσερά-
 κοντα ἀπὸ τῶν χιλίων ἑξακοσίων δεκαπέντε ὡς προγέγραπται
 νομισμάτων καὶ διδόναι τούτων εἰς τὸν ἐξῆς χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν
 ἡμικατοστιεὸν τόκον ὄνπερ εἶχεν καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἡμῶν γραμμα-
 205 τῖον, ὃ καὶ κατακεχάρακται καὶ ἀπέμινεν παρὰ σοὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν
 χρόνων ἀπόδειξιν ἀπὸ νεομηνίας τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Ἐπίφι
 τῆς παρούσης τρίτης ἰνδικτίωνος μέχρι τελείας ἀποδόσεως
 ἀκοιλάντως, τὰ δὲ ἔννακόσια τεσσεράκοντα χρύσινα εὔστα-
 θμα διδόναι καὶ καταβάλλιν τῇ σῆ ἐλλογιμότητι ὁμολογῶ
 210 [.] . . . ρ. [.] . . . [.] ε[.] . . . [.] κ[.] [.] . . . ὀπηνίκα ἂν βου-
 ληθείης ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ πάντα μοι συμφωνί τὰ προγεγραμμένα,
 ἐφ' οἷς καὶ ὑπεθέμην τὰ ἐμὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπάρξοντα γενικῶς
 καὶ ἰδικῶς καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα καὶ ἀναγνοὺς ἀπέλυσα. Ϝ
 (m. 4) Ϝ Φλ(άουιος) Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ λαμπρότατος υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης
 215 (v.) μνήμης Εὐτυχιανοῦ ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἐθέμην
 τόδε τὸ γραμματεῖον ἅμα Ἰουλιανῷ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ τριβού[ω]
 ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης εἰς σὲ Μαξιμίνον τὸν ἐλλογιμώτατον σχολ(αστικὸν)
 καὶ ὁμολογῶ κατὰ τὴν προκειμέ[ν]ην διήγησιν ἔχειν
 καὶ χρεωστ[εῖν] τ[ῶ] δι[καί]ω τῆς ἀλληλεγγύης καὶ τοῦ μανδά-
 220 τορος τῆς σῆς ἐλλογιμότητος τὰ ἀπομεμενηκότα μετὰ τὴν
 τῶν εἰρη[μ]ῶν κηπίων καὶ τῶν συνκυρούντων
 αὐτοῖς παράδοσιν λόγῳ κεφαλέου χρεωστοῦ-
 μενα τῇ σῆ ἀρετῇ χρύσινα εὔσταθμα ἔννακόσια
 τεσσεράκοντα ἀπὸ τῶν χιλίων ἑξακοσίων δεκαπέντε
 225 ὡς προγέγραπτε νομισμάτων καὶ διδόναι τούτων εἰς
 τὸν ἐξῆς χρόνον τὸν [αὐτὸν] ἡμικατοστιεὸν τόκον,
 ὄνπερ εἶχεν καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἡμῶν γραμματεῖον, ὃ καὶ
 κατακεχάρακτε καὶ ἀπέμινεν παρὰ σοὶ διὰ τὴν
 τῶν χρό[ν]ων ἀπόδειξιν ἀπὸ νεομηνίας τοῦ ὄντος
 230 μηνὸς Ἐπ[ε]ίφ τῆς παρούσης τρίτης ἰνδικτίωνος) μέχρι τελείας

- ἀποδόσεως ἀκοιλάντως, τὰ δὲ ἐννακόςια τεσσερά-
 κοντα χρύσινα εὔσταθμα διδόνε καὶ καταβάλλιν
 τῆς σῆς ἔλλογιμ(ότητι) ὁμολογῶ ὡς
 ὀπηνίκα ἂν ἀπολαβεῖν βουλευθείης
 235 ἀνυπερθέτω]ς καὶ πάντα μοι συμφωνί τὰ προγεγραμμένα
 καὶ ὑπεθέμην [τὰ ἐμὰ ὑπάρχοντ]α καὶ ὑπάρξοντα
 γενικῶς καὶ ἰδικῶς καὶ ἐπερωτηθῆς ὡμολόγησα
 καὶ ἀγαγν[οὺς ἀ]πέλυσα. (m. 5) + Αὐρήλιος Κάνωπος υἱὸς Θεοφίλου
 τοῦ τῆς μακ[α]ρ[ί]ας μνήμης, ἐρέτης, οἰκῶν ὀπιθεν τοῦ μαρ-
 240 τυρίου τοῦ ἀγίου Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου πρὸς τόπω Πραυλίου
 ἐν τοῖς ιανοῦ, μαρτυρῶ τῶδε τῶ γραμμ[α]-
 τίω. (m. 6) // Αὐρήλιος Cέλευκος υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης
 Ἰωάννου,
 οἰκῶν πρὸς τόπω Πραυλίου ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις, μαρτυρῶ τῶδε τῶ γραμματίω.
 (m. 7) Αὐρήλιος Πέτρος υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρίου Τιμοθέου, οἰκῶν ἄντικρυς
 245] ἐν [τ]οῖ[ς] ἰδίοις, μαρτ[υ]ρῶ τῶδε τῶ γραμματίω
 (m. 8) + Ζωσιμάς συμπράττων Ἰωάννη συναλλαγματογράφω
 (vac.) πεδατούρα(ς) οἰκ(ου) Καίσαρ(ος) ἐτέλ(εσα). + (shorthand?)
 (vac.) (shorthand?)
 (vac.) (shorthand?) (vac.)
 (m. 9) 250 Μαξιμίνοσ λαμπρό(τατος) χολ(αστικὸς) + Ἰουλιανῶ τῶ θαυμασ(ιωτάτω)
 τριβ(ούνω) υἱῶ Εὐσεβίου
 251 c. 18 letters] . [. . .] . [. . .] τοῦ αἰδεσ(ίμου) πραγματευτοῦ
] ναποθηκ [. . .] φρ[. . .] . [. . .] νος τὰ χρεωστηθέντα μοι
 διὰ τῆς προαναφερομένης δανακῆς κυγγραφῆς ἐκτεθείσης
] ου ἔκ τε ἀρχαίου καὶ τόκων καὶ εἰς πλήρες ταῦτα κομι-
 255 κάμεν[ος ἀ]γαδέδωκα τῆς σῆς θαυμασιότητι τὸ γραμματεῖον.
 Μ]ε[χ(ε)]ίρ κ⁻, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ὀγδόης, ὑπατία Φλ(αοῦ) Ἰωάννου τοῦ
 λαμπρο(τάτου). (vac.)

2 φλ	3 μεγαλοπρόμοσ, αἰῶ	4 χαρτσαλεξ/ἰ	7 υπατιαν; 1. ὑπατεῖαν; φλαοῦνιου
8 λαμπρ/ς, β̄	9 επιφς; 1. Ἐπειφ	10 ἰνδικς, λαμπρ/ς	11 φιλοχβ/αλεξς, αιγς
12 φλαοῦνιουἰουλιανος	14 υἱος	18 ἰωαννου	19 ἰδιοις
22 υἱος	25 ἰδιοις	26 1. μανδάτορες	27 φλς
30 υἱω	31 γαῖου; 1. ὁμολογοῦσιν	32 ὑποτεταγμενα	34 ἰνδικτιονος; 1. ἰνδικτίωνος
35 ὑπατιας; 1. ὑπατείας	36 φλς	40 ἰουλιανος	50 1. ἄχρι
51 παῖνι	55 1. συντείνεω	60 ἰουλιανοςὑπερ	65 1. σὺν
68 ὑδρηγοις	69 1. Μαρείας	75 επιφς; 1. Ἐπειφ	76 ἰνδικτιονος; 1. ἰνδικτίωνος
81 1. τεσσαράκοντα	88 ἰουλιανος	91 1. ὁμολογοῦσιν	98 1. παράδοσιν
100 1. τεσσαράκοντα	105 1. μέχρι		

107 1. τεσσαράκοντα	111 επιφς; 1. Ἐπειφ	112 ἰνδικτιονος; 1. ἰνδικτίωνος	113 1. τεσσαράκοντα
118 1. μεθοδείαν	120 ἀνυπερθετωσ	127 1. μεθοδείαν	128 ὑπερθεσθαι
129 ητ'τον	130 1. τεσσαράκοντα	138 ὑπερτιθεμενω	141 1. μεθοδείας
145 1. ὁμολογοῦσιν; ἰουλιανος	156 1. μεθοδείαν	157 ἰουλιανου	169 ὑπαρχοντων, ὑπαρξοντων
170 1. κινήτων, ἀκινήτων	171 1. αὐτοκινήτων	172 ὑπεθετο	173 ἰδικωσ
174 ὑποθηκῆσ	185 ἰουλιανος	187 ὑπο	190 συνπρατ'τοντι; 1. συμπράττοντι
191 ἰωαννη	192 φλςἰουλιανος	193 υἱος	194 γραμματεῖον
196 1. σέ	197 1. προκειμένην, ἔχειω	197-8 1. χρεωστῆων	198 ἀλληλεγγύησ
200 1. συγκυρόντων, κεφαλαίου	201 1. τεσσαρα-	204 1. ἡμικεκατοστιαῖον	204-5 1. γραμματεῖον
205 1. ἀπέμεινε	206 1. ἀπόδειξιν, νεομηρίας, Ἐπειφ (Ἐπειφί?)	207 1. ἰνδικτίωνος	208 1. τεσσαράκοντα
209 1. καταβάλλειω	211 1. συμφωνεῖ	212 ὑπεθεμην	213 ἰδικωσ
214 φλ/, λαμπρ/?	216 1. γραμματεῖον; ἰουλιανω, λαμπρ/	217 ἐλλογιμςχορδς?	220 ἐλλογιμ/?
221 1. συγκυρόντων	222 1. κεφαλαίου	224 1. τεσσαράκοντα, χιλίων	225 1. προγγεγραπται,
226 1. διδόναι	226 1. ἡμικεκατοστιαῖον	227 1. γραμματεῖον	228 1. κατακεχάρακται, ἀπέμεινε
230 ἰνδ; 1. τελείας	231-2 1. τεσσαράκοντα	232 1. διδόναι, καταβάλλειω	233 ἐλλογιμς
235 1. συμφωνεῖ	237 1. ἐπερωτηθείς	241-2, 243, 245 1. γραμματεῖω	244 υἱος
246 συμπραττῆσἰωαννησυναλλαγματογραφ//	247 πεδατουρβουικ/καίσαρτελ/ς	250 λαμπρ/εξ ^λ ,	θαυμασ'τριβ ^δ
251 αιδεσ ^δ	253 1. δανακῆς	256 ἰνδ/; 1. ὑπατείας; φλς, λαμπρ/	

(1st hand) 'Flavius Clementinus, magnificentissimus comes and ex consulibus, papyrus ... Alexandr(ia)? ... indiction 15, ...'

(2nd hand) 'Under the consuls after the second consulship of Flavius Eusebius, uir clarissimus, Epeiph nineteenth, third indiction, in the most splendid and Christ-loving Alexandria by Egypt.'

(12-32) 'Flavius Julianus, the most splendid tribune, notary of the sacred palace, son of Eusebius of happy memory, from this capital city of Alexandria, resident behind the martyrion of St John the Baptist on his own premises, and Flavius Olympiodorus, the most eloquent scholasticus, advocate of the court of the Augustal prefect, son of Eutychianus of excellent memory, resident near the Great Tetracylon on his own premises, guarantors of one another and mandatores of one another, to Flavius Maximinus, the most splendid and most eloquent scholasticus, advocate of the court of the Augustal prefect, son of Gaius of excellent memory, acknowledge the following terms.'

(32-76) 'On the twenty-ninth of the month of Mesore of the first indiction, in the the consulship of our master and emperor Flavius Anastasius, the eternal Augustus, for the first time, and of Rufus, uir clarissimus, the above written most splendid Julianus and most eloquent Olympiodorus delivered to Maximinus, the most eloquent scholasticus, a contract upon mutual guarantee for a capital sum of one thousand four hundred and fifty-five solidi, having stipulated interest of one half per cent (sc. per month). After the passing of twenty-two months from the time when the contract was concluded until the thirtieth of the past month of Payni of the present third epinemesis the aggregate on account of interest on the same loan was one hundred and sixty solidi, so that the sum of the capital and interest reached one thousand six hundred and fifteen solidi. In these circumstances the above written most splendid Julianus in respect of six hundred and seventy-five solidi handed over to the most eloquent Maximinus two orchards and their appurtenances with every right in them, situated in the Taphosiris Strip by the so-called Glycae or Conduits near Lake Marea, in accordance with a deed of security drawn up for him concerning this matter on the present and above written day, which is the nineteenth of the current month of Epeiph of the present third indiction.'

(77-137) 'Therefore, with the debt standing after the surrender of the said orchards and their appurtenances at nine hundred and forty solidi of satisfactory weight, the earlier contract was cancelled and remained in the hands of the most eloquent Maximinus to provide proof of dates, but necessarily the above written most splendid Julianus and Olympiodorus the most eloquent scholasticus issued this contract by which they acknowledge that they have received and owe by right of the mutual security and of the mandator of the most eloquent Maximinus the nine hundred and forty solidi of satisfactory weight which remained owing as capital after the surrender of the said orchards and their appurtenances and will pay on these for the future the same half per cent monthly interest which was contained also in the earlier contract until the repayment in full of the nine hundred and forty solidi without fail, reckoning the first month from the first of the current month of Epeiph of the present third indiction, and that they will give and pay down the nine hundred and forty solidi of satisfactory weight to the most splendid and most eloquent scholasticus Maximinus or to any person properly taking proceedings for exaction, whenever he may wish to receive them back, without delay

and without any chance postponement or contradiction or lawsuit or judgement or any sort of legal demur, and that they have no power, if the same most eloquent man wishes to recover the debt and takes proceedings for exaction, to delay over the repayment or to pay less than the nine hundred and forty *solidi* of satisfactory weight or to fail by even one month in the delivery of the half per cent interest or claim that they have paid anything without a written receipt from his Eloquence or a redemption of this contract.'

(137-192). 'If, because they delay over the repayment, the same most eloquent man is forced for the sake of exaction to incur expenses or losses, whether by application to courts or without (reference to) a court, the most splendid Julianus and the most eloquent Olympiodorus acknowledge according to these provisions that they will pay and restore them all to the same most eloquent man upon mutual security in accordance with their pledge to him, and that the right of exaction of all shall belong according to the above written provisions to Maximinus the most eloquent scholasticus, or to any person properly taking proceedings for exaction from the most splendid Julianus and the most eloquent Olympiodorus or from either of them held liable by right of the mutual security and of the *mandator* and not freed from liability to proceedings for choice (of judge) or initiation of suit or arbitration or partial payment except by repayment in full, including repayment from their heirs and successors and assigns of every kind and from their possessions now and in the future, movable and immovable and self-moving, which they just now mortgaged to his Eloquence in general and in particular, each thing by right of pledge (and) mortgage, and they swore by God Almighty and the piety and victory of our victorious and imperial master Anastasius, the eternal Augustus, to keep this contract in force and not to bring charge or blame against it in any way, and on being formally questioned on all of the above written provisions by Maximinus the most eloquent scholasticus face to face the most splendid Julianus and the most eloquent Olympiodorus gave their assent. Written in the presence of Zosimas collaborator of John contract-writer of the *pedatura* of the household of Caesar.'

(192-213) (3rd hand) 'I, Flavius Julianus, the most splendid tribune of the sacred palace, son of Eusebius of happy memory, the above written, concluded this contract along with Olympiodorus the most eloquent scholasticus upon mutual guarantee, for you, Maximinus the most eloquent scholasticus, and I acknowledge in conformity with the foregoing statement that I have received and owe by right of the mutual guarantee and of the *mandator* of your Eloquence the nine hundred and forty gold *solidi* of satisfactory weight which have remained owing to your Excellency in respect of principal after the surrender of the said orchards and their appurtenances out of the one thousand six hundred and fifteen *solidi*, as written above, and will pay on these for the future the same half per cent interest which was contained also in the earlier contract, which has been cancelled and remained in your hands to provide proof of dates, from the first of the current month of Epeiph of the present third indiction until repayment in full without fail; the nine hundred and forty gold coins of satisfactory weight I acknowledge that I will give and pay down to your Eloquence ... whenever you may wish without delay and I agree to all the provisions above written, upon which I also mortgaged my possessions now and in the future in general and in particular and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent and I read and delivered (the contract).'

(214-238) (4th hand) 'I, Flavius Olympiodorus, *uir clarissimus* (?), son of Eutyhianus of excellent memory, the above written, concluded this contract along with Julianus, the most splendid tribune, upon mutual guarantee, for you, Maximinus the most eloquent scholasticus, and I acknowledge in conformity with the foregoing statement that I have received and owe by right of the mutual guarantee and of the *mandator* of your Eloquence the nine hundred and forty gold *solidi* of satisfactory weight which have remained owing to your Excellency in respect of principal after the surrender of the said orchards and their appurtenances out of the one thousand six hundred and fifteen *solidi*, as written above, and will pay on these for the future the same half per cent interest which was contained also in the earlier contract, which has been cancelled and remained in your hands to provide proof of dates, from the first of the current month of Epeiph of the present third indiction until repayment in full without fail; the nine hundred and forty gold coins of satisfactory weight I acknowledge that I will give and pay down to your Eloquence ... whenever you may wish to recover (them) without delay and I agree to all the provisions above written, and I mortgaged my possessions now and in the future in general and in particular and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent and I read and delivered (the contract).'

(238-257) (5th hand) 'I, Aurelius Canopus(?) son of Theophilus of happy memory, oarsman, resident behind the martyrrium of St John the Baptist at the place called Prayliu(?) on the premises of (?) ... ianus, act as witness to this contract.'

(6th hand) 'I, Aurelius Seleucus son of John of happy memory, resident at the place called Prayliu on my own premises, act as witness to this contract.'

(7th hand) 'I, Aurelius Peter son of the late Timotheus, resident opposite ... on my own premises, act as witness to this contract.'

(8th hand) 'I, Zosimas collaborator of John contract-writer of the *pedatura* of the household of Caesar, completed (the contract).'

(Shorthand).

(9th hand) 'I, Maximinus most splendid scholasticus, to Julianus the most admirable tribune, son of Eusebius (of excellent memory?) ... (through) his agent the honoured ... the sums owed to me in virtue of the contract of loan rehearsed above issued (to me by you?) consisting of capital and interest and having received them in full I have delivered the contract to your Excellency. Mecheir 20, eighth indiction, in the consulship of Flavius John, *uir clarissimus*.'

1-5 These lines are written parallel with the short side of the roll along the fibres of the first, protective, sheet, called the protocollon, which is attached with its fibres running at right angles to those in the rest of the roll. On the texts of this kind see J. Diethart, D. Feissel, J. Gascou, 'Les protokolla des papyrus byzantins du V^e au VII^e siècle', etc. *Tyche* 9 (1994) 9-40. The contract itself, below, is written across the fibres of the recto also parallel with the short side of the roll, in the fashion usually called *transversa charta*, see e.g. LVIII 3952 intro.

For this darkened and faded protocol (1-5), as for the washed out subscriptions of Flavius Olympiodorus and the first witness (214-241), I gratefully acknowledge some very good infra-red photographs made in the photographic laboratory of University College London through the kind intervention of Dr W. E. H. Cockle.

1 ... These remains are very faint, but they seem too extensive and otherwise unsuited for any of the versions of a Christian cross which might be appropriate in this place. A better, but still doubtful, possibility is the Christian acronym or cryptogram $\chi\mu\gamma$, which occurs in the protocols of the early and middle fifth century, see J. Diethart, etc., op. cit. Nos. 2-4, 7-14, 15(?). This item, No. 17 there, is the first of a new type, so that there is no certainty that this line agrees with the earlier formula.

On $\chi\mu\gamma$, still of uncertain meaning, see LVI 3862 1 n., GPR XIV 32.32 n., J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 12 (1994) 324 n. 5, P. Heid. IV pp. 227-9, cf. *Tyche* 7 (1992) 203-5, with B. Kramer, *Archiv* 40 (1994) 218-219.

2-3 This Flavius Clementinus should be the current *comes sacrarum largitionum*. A man of the same name is recorded in that office while holding an ordinary consulship in 513, see R. Delmaire, *Largesses Sacrées et Res Privata* 100 (table: No. 159), 108, J. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* ii 303. The fifteenth indiction mentioned in line 3 is almost certain to be the fifteenth indiction immediately preceding the date of the contract, 13 July 494, which was that of 491/2. The likelihood is that our man was a forebear, perhaps the grandfather, of the later one; for the full argument see D. Feissel in J. Diethart etc. op. cit. p. 27.

On $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\omicron\pi\rho\epsilon(\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\omicron\varsigma)$ = *magnificentissimus* see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 543-4, ii 1228 n. 52, D. Feissel, op. cit. p. 27 and n. 64.

The status of *ex consulibus* would have been honorary, cf. Martindale op. cit. ii 303. From the reign of Zeno the honorary consulship could be acquired by paying 100 lb of gold, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 533, ii 1225 n. 26, citing C. Just. 12.3.3 (AD 474-6).

Although the precise expansion of the abbreviated phrase $\chi\alpha\rho\tau(\)\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\xi(\)$, which has not occurred in other legible protocol texts, cannot yet be known, the root words, $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta\varsigma$, 'papyrus roll', and the name of the city of Alexandria, are unmistakable, and thus must indicate that the papyrus was of Alexandrian origin, see J. Gascou in J. Diethart, etc. op. cit. pp. 17-18.

$\delta\iota\ \rho\ \epsilon\psi$. This may have begun with $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$, sometimes abbreviated to $\delta\iota$, introducing the name of a local representative of the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, see J. Diethart etc. op. cit. No. 18 (pp. 19-23, cf. p. 30). J. Gascou, *ibid.* p. 17, suggested $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \alpha\rho\ \epsilon\psi$, and I have not hesitated myself to read very similar shapes as alphas in lines 3-4. D. Feissel, *ibid.* p. 29, has argued that the man might possibly be the Augustal prefect called Arsenius, known in office for 487, fairly close to 491/2. The element $\epsilon\psi$ is attractive because the supposed first letter of it has the projection upwards to the right characteristic of epsilon and the following letter has a *ductus* somewhat similar to the rather smaller nu of $\iota\nu\delta(\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma)$ above. The sigma would be difficult: the strokes look most like theta, although the putative crossbar slopes downwards to the right in an odd fashion. After the letter acceptable as nu the remainder of the line looks most like another nu of a different type! That, however, seems most improbable, since we want a genitive ending somewhere after $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$.

I have almost persuaded myself that we could accept -ί<ο>υ, but obviously serious doubt must attach to the identification until some confirmation can be found. I have toyed with the possibility of reading δ(ιδ) Παρθενί<ο>υ, but no suitable Parthenius is known at this period.

6 This cross has its counterparts in CPR IX 40.6; 43.6; 43a.6 (=Diethart etc., op. cit. Nos. 12, 15, 13). It may have been lost from the other examples in CPR IX, but cf. J. Gascou in Diethart etc. op. cit. p. 29 and n. 77.

7-10 τοῖς (sc. ὑπάτοις) μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν (l. ὑπατεῖαν) Φλαουίου Εὐσεβίου τὸ β, Ἐπ(ε)ῖφ ἑνεακαίδεκάτῃ, ἰνδικ(τιώνι) τρίτῃ. The second consulship of Flavius Eusebius fell in 493, see R. S. Bagnall, etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 521-3, and the relevant third indiction was that of 494/5, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 85. What slight evidence there is suggests that the indiction used for chronological purposes at Alexandria began on 1 May, see Bagnall, Worp, op. cit. 25, 46, so that this date represents 13 July 494. If the Alexandrian indiction year had begun on 1 September, this would represent 13 July 495. That the former is correct, as Bagnall and Worp suspected, is proved by the chronology of the transaction: it began on 22 August 492 (Mesore 29 of the first consulship of the emperor Anastasius, which he held with Flavius Rufus, first indiction, see below 32-9 and n.), from which date twenty-two full months elapsed till Payni 30 (24 June) of the present third indiction (48-53). Nineteen days later on the date of this contract, which was Epeiph 19 (13 July) of the present third indiction (72-6), the two orchards were surrendered in part repayment and the contract renewed for the outstanding sum. The year must consequently be 494, and the third indiction must have begun before Payni 30 (24 June), evidently therefore on the date of the *praedelegatio*, 1 May or the Egyptian approximation, Pachon 1. It seems, therefore, that the clerk who drew up the contract was fully conversant with the proper diplomatic of notarial practice. Contrast the dates added by the parties themselves in 4394 256 and 4395 120-131, where *ὑπατ(ε)ία* is used for *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατεῖαν*, and in 4395 156, where the indiction used is the more usual one beginning on 1 September or the Egyptian approximation, Thoth 1.

11 φιλοχρ(ί)στ(ω). Cf. A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* i.1 60, and especially J. Irmscher, 'Alexandria. Die Christusliebende Stadt', *Bull. Soc. Arch. Copte* 19 (1967-8) 115-122. In documentary papyri this adjective is mostly used of people. In the fragmentary P. Apoll. 69.3, of the period AD 703-715, it refers to a city which may be Alexandria: *εἰς τὴν φιλόχριστον ἡμῶν πόλιν πληρῶσαι αὐτὴν [τὰ] τιμὰς καὶ λαβεῖν τ[.]*

Ἀλεξ(ανδρεία) τῇ πρὸς Αἰγ(ύπτω). Cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i 107-8, A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* i.1 56-7.

12 Flavius Julianus appears also in 4395, and is possibly to be recognized in P. Flor. III 384.68 as the lessor of a bathing establishment, in spite of the fact that the publication states that the papyrus comes from 'the excavations of Aschmunên' (p. 113). K. A. Worp, quoted in an article by R. S. Bagnall, *GRBS* 25 (1984) 84-5, has read *πεδατούρας οἰκ[ι]* in line 118, and this appears to be a notarial subscription such as we have here in lines 190-192 and 246-7 referring to the *πεδατούρα οἴκου Καίσαρος*, an Alexandrian location; see also below 24 n. That lease is assigned to the fifth century. If the identification is correct, the twelfth indiction mentioned in line 23 might most likely be that of 488/9.

At this date and in this place, away from the imperial court, his post of *tribunus (et) notarius* is likely to have been a sinecure, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 572-5, esp. 574. On the role and significance of *notarii* see H. C. Teitler, *Notarii and Exceptores*, although this treats chiefly their rise and period of greatest influence, up to the middle of the fifth century. On the title *tribunus (et) notarius* see *ibid.* 56-9.

17-19 οἰκῶν ἐπιθεν τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ ἁγίου Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις. Instead of *ἐπιθεν* 4395 3 has *πλησίον*, cf. below line 24.

This is a standard way to give place of residence, see 4359 6-7, 10, 4395 3-4, 15-16, 108-9, 120-122, SB VI 9219.23 οἰκῶν πρὸς τόπω Ἀσκλὰ ἐν τοῖς ἰδί[ο]ις, P. Abinn. 65 (=P. Lond. II 251, p. 317). 27-9, οἰκῶν ἐν τῷ Μενιδίῳ ἐν τοῖς ἡδίοις (l. ἰδίοις) ... οἰκῶν ἐν τόπω Γ... [.] δῖον ἐν τοῖς ἡδίοις (l. ἰδίοις).

See also P. Cair. Masp. II 67168.77-83, where the witnesses all live on premises belonging to other people.

In SB VI 9464.4-7, where the published text has οἰκω[νόμος τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας] τῆς τοῦ Πάπα Τιμοθέου [± 10 Bstb.] *προκαγορευομένη[ς, τοῖς γράμμασι μου] ἰδίοις*, read οἰκῶ[ν πλησίον (vel sim.)] τῆς τοῦ Πάπα Τιμοθέου [ἐκκλησίας (vel sim.)] *προκαγορευομένη[ς ἐν τοῖς] ἰδίοις*. The patriarch Timotheus (380-385) is recorded as having built several Alexandrian churches, the names of which are unknown, see Annik Martyn, 'Les églises d'Alexandrie aux 3e et 4e siècles', *Revue des études augustiniennes* 30 (1984) 221 n. 66, citing Eutychius, *Annales PG* 111 col. 1018, *Exstruxit autem Timotheus patriarcha Alexandriae ecclesias complures, et monumenta non pauca*.

On the martyrdom of St John the Baptist see Martin, *Rev. ét. aug.* 30 (1984) 222-3. It was built on part of the site of the Serapeum after its destruction by the Christians in 391, and a church was built on another

part, see especially Eusebius *HE XI* (=Rufinus II) 27 *nam in Serapis sepulchro, profanis aedibus conplanatis, ex uno latere martyrium, ex altero consurgit ecclesia*. In ch. 28 he explains that the tomb of John the Baptist at Sebaste in Palestine had been violated in the time of Julian the Apostate, but some relics had been rescued by monks of Jerusalem, who entrusted them for safekeeping to Athanasius, who in turn buried them in a safe place in Alexandria, where they remained until this opportunity arose to make a martyrdom specially for them.

Ecclesiastical remains have been found on the site of the Serapeum, see A. Rowe, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 39 (1957) 502-3.

19-20 Cf. 27-8. Flavius Olympiodorus and Flavius Maximinus, *eloquentissimi scholastici*, do not appear in the lists of A. Claus, 'Ο *Χολαστικός* (Diss. Köln, 1965) 20-42, or in the lists of additions by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 70 (1987) 144-5, and T. Gagos, *ib.* 79 (1989) 272. On *scholastici* see also R. Kotansky, *ZPE* 88 (1991) 52-3, M. Matter, *Tyche* 6 (1991) 119, n.l.15.

ἔλλογιμώτατος is a standard honorific epithet for *scholastici*, see Claus, op. cit. 84-7, 91-5. For the Latin equivalent see P. Koch, *Die byzantinischen Beamten titeln* 84 (*eloquentissimus*), cf. 82 (*disertissimus*), and 94 (*facundissimus*), with O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 7-8, who prudently considers all three as possibilities.

21-2 Cf. 29-30. *συνήγορος τοῦ Αἰγυπτιακοῦ φόρου*. These are the first advocates of the *forum* of the Augustal prefect to be attested by name and title. On *χολαστικοί* or *συνήγοροι* of the *forum Thebaidos*, see A. Claus, op. cit. 30-31, 77-81, and for a *scholasticus* of the *forum Arcadiae* see J. G. Keenan, *BASP* 9 (1972) 16-18. See now also 4398 6-9 n. for an advocate of the high court of the praetorian prefects.

The Greek word representing *forum* seems to be *φόρος*, allegedly reflecting the masculine Latin form *forum*, see P. Collinet, *Rev. phil.* 2 36 (1912) 132-3; add G. Goetz, *CGL* ii 73.17 (*forum αγοράφορος*), 216.60 (*αγοραο[φ]ορος hiciforus: masculinumest*); Suda s.v. *φόρος ὁ τόπος, τὸ πωλητήριον*, H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus* s.v. *φόρον*. Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon* s.v. *φόρος* III referred to the Suda entry, but LSJ dropped it and gave *φόρον* with two references which relate to oblique cases. Compare F. Mitthof, A. Papatomas, *ZPE* 103 (1994) 76 and n. 76 on *στάβλος = stabulum*.

24 τοῦ Μεγάλου Τετραπύλου. Cf. A. Calderini, op. cit. i.1 154, which however does not call it *Μέγα*. Another mention of it is probably to be recognized in SB XVI 12516, from *Scritti ... Montevicchi* 32; lines 3-5 are printed as follows,

Ἐγράφη
παρὰ Εὐθυμίου συναλλαγματογράφου τόπου
5 Πραυλίου Πελαίου. ρκε ρδ' ἐτου(ς). Ὑπεγρ(άφη) ἀπλοῦ(ν) Φ/.

For Πραυλίου see below 240(?) and 243 n. After that K. A. Worp, quoted in an article by R. S. Bagnall, *GRBS* 25 (1984) 84-5, has read *πεδατούρας*, see below 192, 247, cf. 12 n., 189-192 n. Then the photograph shows damaged letters which I read as *Μεγάλου Τετραπύλου*. At the end is a chi-rho symbol.

The location of the Tetrapylon is not known, although it was presumably near the centre of the city at the crossing of two of the principal streets, see A. Łukaszewicz, *Les édifices publics* 57, 182, cf. William L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire* ii 87-92, with a detailed discussion of the varieties of *quadriportus* (= *τετράπυλον*). This, like other Alexandrian buildings, may have provided a model for structures in the nome capitals, cf. A. K. Bowman, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 5 (1992) 499-500, Łukaszewicz, *loc. cit.* (Arsinoe, Athribis).

25-6 ἀλλήλων ἐγγυνηταὶ καὶ ἀλλήλων μανδάτορας (l. *μανδάτορες*). Cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Law* 415, *Just. Nov.* 4. The only close parallel in the papyri is in P. Flor. III 384, where a Flavius Julianus possibly the same as our protagonist, see above 12 n., leases a bathing establishment to a lessee who has two *ἐγγυνηταὶ μανδάτορες* (16, 33, 44, 58, 61, 75, 108-9). Something similar is found in P. Hamb. I 23.6-7 of AD 569, cf. M. Amelotti, L. Migliardi-Zingale, *Le costituzioni giustiniane* 61 (No. 20), where the lessees of a vineyard are ἀλληλαναδώχ(ων); l. -δόχων, cf. 12 ἀλληλαναδόχοι καὶ ἀλληλομανδατόρων.

The clearest explanation of the effect of this is given by A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* 575, s.v. 'Mandatum pecuniae credendae'. An order given a person to lend money to a third person (*mandare alicui ut credat*). It created on the part of the *mandator* the obligation to secure the mandatary against losses from such a transaction. Such a mandate (called by a non-Roman term *mandatum qualificatum*) made the *mandator* a surety to the mandatary. That the creditor Maximinus is a mandatary seems to be suggested by 92-4 *χρεωστὴν τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς ἀλληλεγγύης καὶ τοῦ μανδάτορος Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἐλλογιμώτατου*, '... owe by right of

the mutual security and of the *mandator* of the most eloquent Maximinus ...', cf. 198-9, τοῦ μανδάτορος τῆς ἑῆς ἐλλογιότητος. However, ἀλλήλων μανδάτορες indicates rather that Julianus and Olympiodorus each mandated the other to repay the loan to Maximinus.

29-30 Cf. 21-22 n.

32-39 For the consulship of the emperor Anastasius with Flavius Rufus in 492 see R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 518-9. For the conversion of Mesore 29 to 22 August see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 101. The first indiction is that of 492/3, see op. cit. 85, and this proves again that the Alexandrian indiction began before 1 September, see 7-10 n.

47-8 τόκον ... ἡμικατοστιαίων. As usual the interest rate is stated by the month, as lines 102-4 (τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμικατοστιαίων μηνιαίων τόκον) and the calculation in 48-58 shows: $\frac{1}{2}\%$ per month on sol. 1,455 = sol. $7.275 \times 22 =$ sol. 160.05; it seems strange that the fraction is neglected. This rate of 6% per annum was made the legal maximum for private loans by Justinian in 528, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 868, 1361 n. 107, citing C. Just. 4.32.26.2. However, this favourable rate is surprising, since H. E. Finckh, *Das Zinsrecht d. gr.-äg. Papyri* 38-42, 44-6, 50-51, has shown that with comparatively few exceptions the usual rate in the Byzantine period remained at 12% per annum. This was the maximum rate fixed by Roman law since the first century BC, see *ibid.* 29. Cf. 4395 85-9 n.

48-53 See above 7-10 n.

66-9 κείμενα ἐν τῇ Ταφοκριακῇ ταινίᾳ πρὸς τῇ καλουμένῃ Γλύκαις ἦτοι Ὑδρηγοῖς πλησίον τῆς Μαρίας (I. Μαρίας) λίμνης. Cf. Ps.-Callisthenes, *Hist. Alex. Magni* I 31.7 (ed. Kroll, p. 30) for a place called τοῦ Δράκοντος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ταφοκριακῆν ταινίαν; also ἡ ταινία Παθύρεως (A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* iv 15), and ἡ κατὰ Κανωβὸν ταινία (BGU IV 1118.5, 1119.12, 1120.7, 1184).

According to Athenaeus i 33e there was a sweet white wine called *Ταινιωτικός* named after a long strip of land (ταινία ... ἐπιμήκης) in the neighbourhood of Lake Mareotis. Here Ταφοκριακῆ indicates that this was the strip bounded by the sea on the north-west and the lake on the south-east, where the town of Taposiris Magna was situated at a distance of about 45 kilometres west of Alexandria, see *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vi coll. 232-3. The interpretation of ταινία as an irrigation feature, a bank or levée, by D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil* 49-50, is not entirely convincing, although in her second paragraph she says that it is a natural accumulation of earth, 'un atterrissement naturel'. Nor is she correct in suggesting (p. 50 and n. 401) that Athenaeus, *loc. cit.*, compares such a feature with an earth-worm, 'ver de terre', although some technical writers do use ταινία to mean 'tape-worm', see LSJ s.v. IV.

The hydrology of the lake is complicated and still not perfectly understood, see *Lex. d. Ägypt.* iii coll. 1188-90, M. Rodziewicz, *Graeco-Arabica* 2 (1983) 199-216, but the lake water was more or less brackish according to the amount of Nile water which reached it. Evidently the otherwise unattested Γλύκαι(?) or Ὑδρηγοῖς was a spring or well important as a source of fresh water. The plural names contrast oddly with τῇ καλουμένῃ, with which we might understand κρήνη or possibly πηγή.

For the spelling Ταφοκρίσις, implying 'tomb of Osiris', see Plutarch, *de Iside* 21.

Γλύκαι(?) evidently suggests sweet, that is fresh, water, see LSJ s.v. γλυκύς i.b. To suit γλυκαίς it offers only γλυκή. *βοτάνη τις ἐδάδιμος* (Hesychius), which it suggests might be the same as liquorice, γλυκύριζα. A female name Γλύκη is attested, see W. Pape, G. E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch d. gr. Eigennamen* 253, P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* i 108-9, ii 95, RE VII col. 1467.

72-6 Cf. 7-10 n.

82 κεχάρκται. Cf. 205 κατακεχάρκται. Here these words evidently mean that the contract was cancelled by a latticework of pen strokes like the present document, see introd. I have not succeeded in locating another example of this usage. LSJ s.v. καταχαράσσω cites the clause ἵνα μὴ καταχαράσσωμαι τὰ βιβλία from the Scholia to Dionysius Thrax (*Grammatici Graeci* I.iii p. 139.22 Hilgard), but this gives the reason why the grave accent was not put on every syllable to which it applied, 'so that the books shall not be scribbled over'. The older term for the cancellation of contracts was χιασμός, with the verb χιάζω, see H.-A. Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quittung* 79-80.

93-4 Cf. 25-6 n.

109-112 The interest had been calculated to Payni 30 (48-53, cf. 7-10 n.), and therefore the interest for the balance was to run from the next day, Epeiph 1, even though this contract for renewal is dated Epeiph 19.

129 οὐκ looks at first sight like a mistake for μηδέ: μὴ ἐξείναι ... ὑπερθέσθαι ... μηδὲ ἦττον ... δίδόναι, '(They acknowledge) that it is not permitted to postpone ... nor to give (offer?) less ...'. However, a parallel

passage in 4395 56-64, though damaged, seems to suggest that there we have οὐκ οὐκ[εξουσία] ... κωλύει ἢ ἐμποδίζει ..., οὐκ ἔλατ[τον δίδοναι οὐτε] ἐπιζήτην κτλ., where we might be tempted to emend the second οὐκ to οὐδέ similarly. The two passages together suggest that this was an acceptable formula in lawyers' Greek, however odd it looks to us.

162-4 οὐκ ἐλευθερουμένου ἀπὸ ἐπιλογῆς ἢ προκατάρξεως ἢ διαδικακίας. These terms refer to the possibility of court proceedings of the type called *in iure*, see A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* 495 s.v. ἐπιλογή refers to the choice of a judge for the single case, see *ibid.* 518 s.v. *iudex*, cf. P. Ness. 57.10. προκατάρξει is the Greek for *litis contestatio*, see Berger, op. cit. 566 s.v., cf. I 67 (=M. Chr. 56, P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* 87). 11. διαδικακία may be used in a more general sense. G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* vii (index s.v.) gives *disceptatio* and *iurgium* as the Latin equivalents; Berger, op. cit. has entries under both, but they emerge as informal rather than technical terms for a trial or proceedings. A passage in XLVI 3302 9-10 (AD 300/301) seems to use it in the sense expected here: *διαδικακίων γεγενημένων* (I. -μένων) ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας δοθέντων κατὰ καιρὸν δικαστῶν, '... court cases conducted by judges appointed by the prefecture from time to time ...'.

174 ἐνεχύρου ὑποθήκης δικαίω. No other example of this exact wording has been found. The standard phrase is ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ καὶ ὑποθήκης δικαίω, of which no doubt the version here is a shortening.

175-180 ἐπωμόσαντο θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐεβειαν καὶ νίκην τοῦ καλλινοῦ καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ἡμῶν δεσπ[ότου] Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου. This oath formula is new, cf. K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 209, Z. M. Packman, *ZPE* 90 (1992) 251-7. It seems that the word order θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα is a peculiarity of the Oxyrhynchite nome. The placing of αὐτοκράτορος is without parallel.

189-192, cf. 246-7. ἐγράφη παρὰ Ζωσιμᾶ συνπράττοντι (I. συμ-) Ἰωάννη συναλλαγματογράφῳ πεδατούρας οἴκου Καίσαρος. Cf. J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* 96, no. 5.1.1, and above 24 n. On πεδατούρα, which means approximately 'precinct', see R. S. Bagnall, *GRBS* 25 (1984) 84-5. It seems clear now that something very similar has appeared in P. Flor. III 384.118, where Worp, see *GRBS* loc. cit., has corrected []εδ. τουρακαί[] το πεδατούρας οἴκ[], cf. above 12 n. At the end of that line συναλλ[α]γματογρ[α]φῳ[] is printed. It seems certain that this belongs in the previous, unread, line, and that the document had the formula ἐγράφη παρὰ (τῷ δεῖνι) συναλλαγματογράφῳ πεδατούρας οἴκου Καίσαρος again. Before συναλλ[α]γματογρ[α]φῳ[] the printed text has]αν . . ., which could allow that the formula there was exactly the same as here, or at least that it mentioned the same notary, i.e. restore Ἰωάννη, although the document dates from a twelfth indication, possibly 488/9, see 12 n. Another Alexandrian πεδατούρα, the π. Μεγάλου Τετραπύλου, has appeared in SB XVI 12516, see above 24 n.

197 κατὰ τὴν προκειμένην (I. προκειμ-) δινήγησιν. Cf. 218, with LVIII 3955 26 and n.

201 τῆ [c] ἢ [ἀρετ]ῆ. Cf. 223 τῆ [c] ἢ ἀρετῆ, where the reading is also very doubtful.

205 κατακεχάρκται. Cf. 82 n.

206 νεομηνιαίς (I. νεομηνιαίς). See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 300-301 for various spellings, but this one seems to be new. If rightly read it is possibly a cumulation of νεομηνία and νομηνιαίς.

Ἐπίφι. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 96, does not record this as a variant spelling of Epeiph, although it is attested in a few late documents: P. Gron. 8.1 (VI), SB I 4918 (byz.), SB XII 10990.VI.72.1, 75.1, 76.1, 83.1, 85.1 (V/VI).

210-211 Unfortunately the corresponding passage in 233-4 is also damaged and the texts seem to have been slightly different. Clear here is *δπηνίκα ἀν βουληθείς*, whereas *δπηνίκα ἀν ἀπολαβεῖν βουληθείς*, cf. PSI XIV 1427.15-16, is virtually certain there.

213 ἀναγνοὺς ἀπέλυσα, cf. 238, where the guarantor also subscribes the word ἀπέλυσα, and 4395 106, 117 and nn., 4397 208 n. For the formula and its use by the guarantor see LVIII 3952 53 n.

214-241 These lines have been washed out and then the washed out section has been cancelled like the rest. At least part of the reason for the washing out is probably that this is a copy destined for Flavius Julianus, see 250-256. His subscription was allowed to stand, but that of Flavius Olympiodorus was sponged out. However, it is not quite clear to me at what stage of the transaction the sponging was done. It has also affected the first witness's subscription, but that is likely to have been an oversight or carelessness, perhaps caused by the similarity of the hands.

233-4 Cf. 210-211 n.

235-6 Cf. 211-12, but I have not found ἐφ' οἷς or room for it here.

238 Cf. 213 n. for ἀναγν[οὺς ἀ]πέλυσα.

239 τοῦ τῆς] μακ[α]ρ[ίας] μνήμη. The reading is very doubtful, especially since the other witnesses have

slightly different formulations (242, 244), but in 251 it may be that we should restore τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης after υἱῷ Εὐσεβίου, the name of the father of Julianus, cf. 14–15, where we have υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Εὐσεβίου.

ἑρέτης. An oarsman as a witness to this contract is in strange company, but this is the most obvious interpretation, and he can be compared with the oarsman on a praesidial galley in the Thebaid who is the hero of P. Grenf. II. 80–82. I have considered interpreting it here as the phonetic equivalent of αἰρετής, which seemingly can mean ‘record clerk, searcher’, cf. προαιρέτης, but this is still known from only a single document, XIV 1654 7 αἰρετῆ ἡγεμονικῆς βιβλιοθήκης of c. AD 150.

240 Πραῦλιου is doubtful here, but see 243 and n.

241 ἐν τοῖς] ἰανού. It has not been possible to verify Φλ(αούϊου) Ἰουλιανού or the like, although it is an obvious possibility that the witness was a resident in the principal debtor’s house. In a few places in A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici*, these names of house owners have been taken to be the names of districts of Alexandria, e.g. i.1 95 s.v. Ἀκτερίου (P. Cair. Masp. II 67168.79, 83), 137 s.v. Περγαμίου (ibid. 81), 152 s.v. Τατιανού . . . πύλαι, 155 s.v. Τρία ἱερά, iv.2 99 s.v. Περγαμίου, with the same reference.

243 πρὸς τόπω Πραῦλιου. The same location occurs possibly in 240 and certainly in SB XVI 12516.4–5; quoted above in 24 n. τόπου Πραῦλιου. The diaeresis is not written here or in 240, but it looks as if there is some connection with the personal name Πραῦλος, cf. RE XXII.2 col.2559, P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* i 386, although the place is unknown and there is no special connection between Alexandria and a man of this name.

246–7 Cf. 189–192 n.

247 ἐτέλεσα). The only Alexandrian notarial subscription written in full has ἐτέλεσα, see J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im Byzantinischen Ägypten* 21 s.v. Alexandrien 12.1.1 referring to P. Cair. Masp. II 67168.85, pl. XVI, cf. 4395 124. More common in other places is the verb τελειόω, see ibid. p. 14 § 5.2. For the notarial process, the *completio*, see LVIII 3933 40 n.

251 At the beginning of the line it is possible that we ought to restore τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης, see 239 n. πραγματοποιῶ. This refers to an agent of Julianus; it was probably preceded by διά and his name at least.

254 Possibly restore μοι παρὰ] σοῦ, ‘issued to me by you’.

256 Μ]ε[χ(ε)]ῖρ κ̄ κτλ. The month raises a difficulty, but the loop of the rho is especially unmistakable, and the blobby top of this writer’s epsilon and the tall riser of the iota are almost equally characteristic. The spacing and the absence of a trace suggest that he left out the second epsilon, cf. the iotacism of δανειακῆς for δανειακῆς above in 253.

The sole consulship is that of Johannes Gibbus in 499, see R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 532–3, but Mecheir 20 of the eighth indiction is 15 February 500, cf. Bagnall, Worp, *Chronological Systems* 85, 98. Since the consulship of Flavius John was not known in Egypt even as late as Epeiph (June/July) 499 and is first attested on 30 August, see Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 533, it is clear that the writer, Flavius Maximinus, has failed to specify that he is dating by the post consulship: he should have written μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν κτλ. Another writer, Aurelius Agathocles, has done the same thing in 4395 130–131, where Mecheir 29 of the eighth indiction, consulship of Flavius John, represents 24 February 500. It seems that Flavius Julianus settled both these debts within a short period of about ten days.

4395. ANTICHRISTIC LOAN

No inv. no.

c. 28 × c. 200 cm

c. 499–500

Flavius Julianus, the same borrower as in the previous item, here borrowed the less impressive sum of ten solidi less ten carats. His guarantor or mandator was Flavius Theophanius, a *primicerius* or former *primicerius* of the *schola cursorum* serving the Augustal prefect. The lender was called Aurelius Agathocles son of Zosimus.

The most notable feature of the contract is the arrangement that Agathocles, instead of receiving interest in the form of money, was to enjoy two bread distributions

belonging to Julianus for as long as the loan remained outstanding. This is unambiguous evidence for the temporary alienation of rights to bread dole. At first sight it may look as if there is also evidence for permanent alienation: each dole is identified by the name of a former recipient and by the name of the Alexandrian locality at which it was distributed and by the name of the distributor in charge of that locality (31–38), but these rights came to Julianus along with other property from yet another person, a lady called Nonna, now deceased (40–43). This glimpse into the organization of bread distributions in Alexandria raises problems rather than solves them, see notes, but is nevertheless a valuable addition to the evidence. The fact that two of the persons named as former beneficiaries of the bounties are women, while only male citizens were eligible for the traditional Roman corn dole, may suggest that they are connected with *panis aedium*, originally devised to encourage building at Constantinople, but thought to have existed at Alexandria as well, see V. Martin, D. Van Berchem, ‘Le *panis aedium* d’Alexandrie’, *Rev. phil.* NS 16 (1942) 5–21. The existence of *panis aedium* at Alexandria has been denied by J. Durliat, *De la Ville Antique à la Ville Byzantine. Le Problème des Subsistances* (1990) 339–343, but subsequently P. Mich. XV 723.2 ἐν] τῇ λαμ[προτάτη Ἀλε]ξανδρείᾳ οἰκίαν τε καὶ ἄρτους καὶ [has been recognized as another allusion to *panis aedium* by J. D. Thomas, *JEA* 72 (1986) 223, which seems at least plausible. If Durliat is wrong, there may be some likelihood that Julianus held the rights to these two bounties in association with two houses which he acquired from Nonna and which she had acquired from the persons named or from their heirs or successors.

Legislation on the *panis aedium* of Constantinople forbids the separation of the doles from the property rights, see P. Herz, *Studien zur Römischen Wirtschaftsgesetzgebung* 316 (§d2) and n. 71 citing C. Theod. 14.17.1 (364), although the prohibition does specify that the regulation had been broken.

The beginning of the roll is broken, but we have probably lost only the protocol and a date clause, see 1 n. It was written to be read for most of its length opening away from the reader, cf. 4394 introd. ad fin., but at the end for no obvious reason the final subscriptions were written in a single column of long lines parallel with the long dimension (140–156?). The length of what remains is close to two metres, having ten sheet joins at approximately regular intervals of c. 20 cm, but averaging slightly less: there are nine sheets of full width, plus c. 5 cm before the first, and c. 18 cm after the last. The short dimension, which is the width for most of the text, but the height for the final section, is now about 28 cm at most, but it has been severely worn and was originally probably about 30 cm, like 4394, or even a little more.

c. 10 letters?] [c. 30 letters?

Φλ(αούϊος) Ἰουλιανὸς λ[αμπρότατος τριβοῦνος υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς
μακαρίας μνήμ[ης Εὐσεβίου οἰκῶν] πλησίον τ[οῦ μαρτυρίου
τοῦ ἀγίου Βαπτιστοῦ] [ἐν τ]οῖς ἰδίους με[τὰ ἐγγυητοῦ

5 ἦτοι μ[αν]δάτ[ο]ρος [.] [c. 20 letters ἔγγυωμένου
καὶ ἀναδ[ε]χομέν[ου] [c. 25 letters
κ [c. 7 letters κατ'ὰ τὸ τοῦ [μα]ν[δ]άτορος δ[ίκαιον τὴν τε
ἀπόδοσιν ἀκινδύνως τοῦ ἐξῆς δηλουμέν[ου] χρέους
καὶ τὴν ἡμερουσίαν χορηγείαν καὶ συμπλήρ[ωσιν
10 τῶν τοῦ φιλανθρώπου αὐτοῦ ἀρτιδίου δωρεῶν δύο
καὶ πάντα τὰ διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ γραμματίου ἐγγε[γραμμένα
ἐπὶ ὑπευθύνουσιν τοῖς ἰδίους ὑπάρχουσιν Φλαουίου
Θεοφανίου ἀπὸ πριμ[ικ]ηρίων σχολῆς τ[α]χ[υ]δρόμ[ω]ν
τῆς Αὐγουσταλιανῆς τάξεως υἱοῦ τοῦ τ[ῆ]ς μακαρί[α]ς
15 μνήμης Πέτρου οἰκοῦντος πρὸς τόπω [κα]λ[ου]μέ[νω]ν
ἐν Ταποσίρεως ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις (vac.) Αὐρηλίω Ἀγαθ[ο]κλεῖ
τ[ῶ]ν αἰδεσίμω υἱῶ τοῦ μακαρίου Ζωσίμου [χαίρειν.
ὁμολογῶ διὰ ταύτης μου τῆς ἀσφαλεῖ[α]ς μετὰ ἐγγυητοῦ
μανδάτορος τοῦ προειρημένου εἰληφέναι [παρὰ σοῦ ἐν
20 τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ καθ' ἃς προσήγαγόν σοι π[αρακλήσεις
εἰς ἰδίας μου καὶ ἀναγκαίας χρείας ἀκίνδυν[α] ὄντα
παντὸς κινδύνου κεφαλαίου χρυσίου νο[μισμᾶ]τια
ἀπλᾶ δεσποτικὰ δόκειμα δέκα παρ[ὰ] κε[ρά]τια δέκα
διὰ χειρὸς σταθμισθέντα καὶ παραδ[ο]θέντα μοι
25 ὑπὸ σοῦ παρούσα τοῦ ἐγγυητοῦ μανδάτορος
ἐν τῷ τῆς πόλεως δημοσίῳ ζυγῶ διὰ Πέτρου (vac.)
ζυγοστάτου τόπου Καισαρίου, καθὼς ἐπερωτηθεῖ[ς]
ὡμολόγησα, καὶ πρ[ος]απολελυκέναι σε νομ[ῆ]ν
ἦτοι χορηγείαν τῶν διαφερουσῶν μ[οι] ἀρτιδίου
30 δωρεῶν δύο χορηγουμένων ἐν δυεῖ [πρατηρίοις
οὕτως: (vac.) ἐν μὲν πρατηρίῳ ὄντι πρὸς τόπω [καλουμένω
Δρόμου Πέντε Κλιμακίων ὑπὸ χορηγὸν Ἀνα[στ]άσιον
ἀρτιδίου δωρεὰ μία ἀπογραφείσα {ν} ἐπ' ὄνό[μα]τος
᾽Ωριγενίας Σαραποδώρου, (vac.) ἐν δὲ πρατηρί[ῳ] ὄντι
35 πρὸς τόπω καλουμένω ᾽Οσιρίῳ ἦτοι Στρεπτῶ
ὑπὸ χορηγὸν Χριστόδωρον, ἢ λοιπῇ δωρεὰ μία ἀπογραφείσα,
μετὰ καὶ ἄρτου ἑνὸς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρατηρίῳ χ[ο]ρηγουμέν[ου],
ἐπ' ὄνόματος Ἐκβολίου Εὐδοξίου, παρασχόμεν[ός] σοι
λόγω ἐν[ε]χύρου καὶ τοὺς τῆς χορηγείας αὐτῶν δ. . . [c. 5 letters

40 μετὰ καὶ ἀντιγράφου τῆς πράξεως το[ῦ] [.] []
εἰς ἐμὲ παρὰ τῆς <τῆς> λαμπρᾶς μνήμης Νόνν[α]ς (patronymic?)
αὐτῶν τε τῶν δύο δωρεῶν καὶ ἐτέρω[ν] c. 10 letters
καὶ ἄρτων καὶ ἄλλων πραγμάτων (vac.) ἐπ[ὶ] τῷ ταύτας
τὰς δύο δωρεὰς ἡμερουσίως χορηγεῖσθ[αί] σοι ἄνευ (?)
45 τιμῆς δόσεως κα. . . . δ[.] [.] γα. [c. 5 letters λόγω (?)
προσέργου τῶν μνημονευθέντων καὶ ἐκδανισθ[έν]των
μοι παρὰ σοῦ χρυσίου νομισματίων δέκα παρὰ κεράτια
δέκα ἀκοιλάντως καὶ ἀναντιρρήτως μέχρ[η] [τελείας
συμπληρώσεως. (vac.) αὐτὰ μέντοι τὰ τοῦ κεφαλαίου [5–10 letters?
50 χρ[υ]σίου νομισμᾶτια δέκα παρὰ κεράτια δέκα [5–10 letters?
ὠρίσαμεν ἐπάναγκες ἀποδοῦναί σοι [ἐγὼ τε ὁ ὑπόχρεος
κἀγὼ ὁ ἐγγυητῆς μανδάτωρ καὶ ὀπότερο[ς] ἡμῶν ὃν ἐὰν αἰρή
πάραυτα καὶ παραχρήμα, ὅτε δ' ἂν ἀπο[λαβεῖν] τὸ χρέος
βουληθείης, ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ χωρ[ὶ]ς παρολκῆς καὶ
55 ἀντιλογείας καὶ πάσης οἰαδῆποτε νο[μί]μου
παραγραφῆς καὶ δικ[αιο]λ[ο]γε[ί]α[ς], οὐκ οὐχ[ε]ν[ε] ἐξουσίας
οὔτε ἐμοὶ τῷ ὑποχρέω οὔτε ἐμ[ο]ῖ τῷ ἐγγυητῇ μανδάτορι
οὐδ' ὀποτέρω ἡμῶν βουλομένου σοῦ ἀπολαβεῖν ὑπε[ρ]θέ[σ]θαι
περὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν αὐτῶν δέκα χρυσι[ῶ]ν
60 παρὰ κεράτια δέκα ἢ κωλύσαι ἢ ἐμποδίσαι ἢ [κοιλᾶναι] κἂν
μῖαν ἡμέραν τὴν χορηγείαν τῶν τοῦ φιλανθρώπου
αὐτῶν ἀ[ρ]τιδίου δωρεῶν δύο, οὐκ ἔλατ[τον] διδόναι οὔτε
ἐπιζητῖν οὔτε λέγειν ἀποδεδωκέναι [τι χωρὶς
[ἐγ]γράφου σοῦ ἀποχῆς. (vac.) ἄσπερ προσαπολυ[θ]εῖς[α]ς σοι παρ' ἡμῶν
65 ἀρτιδίου δωρεὰς δύο παρεξόμεθ' αὐτῶν ἐγὼ τε [ὁ ὑπόχρεος
κἀγὼ ὁ ἐγγυητῆς καὶ ὀπ[ό]τερο[ς] ἡμῶν καθα[ρὰ] ἀπὸ πάσης
δημοσίας τε καὶ ἰδιωτικῆς ὀφ[ε]λ[ι]ᾶς καὶ οἰαδ[η]τοῦν
ἐνοχῆς τε καὶ ἐπελεύσεως καὶ ζητήσεως καὶ [μὴ] ἐάσομεν (?)
μηδένα αὐτῶν ἢ μέρος ἀντιποιούμεν[ο]ν τ[ρό]π[ω]
70 μηδενεῖ, (vac.) πάντα δὲ τὸν καθ' ὄνητοῦν τρόπον []
ἐπελευσ[ό]μενον ἢ ἀντιποιησόμενον προφάσι τ[ῶ]ν
αὐτῶν καὶ προσαπολυθεισῶν σοι παρ' [ἐμοῦ] ἀρτιδίου
δωρεῶν δύο ἢ μέρος αὐτῶν χάριν ἐ[πάναγκες
ἐγὼ τε ὁ ὑπόχρεος κἀγὼ ὁ ἐγγυητῆς καὶ [ὀπότερος] ἡμῶν

- 75 τούτον ἀποστήσομεν καὶ ἐκδικήσομεν π[αραχρήμα
τοῖς ἰδίοις ἡμῶν [ἀν]αλώμασιν καὶ καθαρο[ποιήσομεν
τὸ δίκαιον τοῦδε τοῦ γραμματίου. (vac.) εἰ μέντοι συμ[βαίη,
ὄπερ ἀπίη, εἴται ἐκ θείου νεύματος εἴται ἐξ ἀρχο[ντικῆς
προστάξεως εἴται ἐξ ἄλλης οἰασηποτοῦν αἰτία[ς
80 κωλυθῆναι ἢ ἐμποδισθῆναι τὴν νομὴν ἢ τ[οι
χορηγίαν τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρτ<ιδ>ίου δωρεῶν δὲ[ο
κατὰ πάντων τῶν ἀρτων τὸ τοιοῦτό γε [ὁμολογοῦμεν
μηδὲν εἶναι πρὸς σὲ μήτε πρὸς τὸ χρυσί[ον, ἀλλὰ
εἶς τε ἐμὲ τὸν ὑπόχρεον καὶ τὸν ἐγγυητή[ν καὶ εἰς
85 ὀπότερον ἡμῶν τὸ τοιοῦτο ὄραν, καὶ παραχ[ρήμα τὴν
συμπλήρωσιν σοι ποιήσασθαι τῶν αὐτῶν δ[έ]κ[α
χρυσίνων παρὰ κεράτια δέκα καὶ τῶν, εἰ ἄρα, ὑπο-
φε]ρομένων φιλανθρώπων τῆς νομίμης αὐτῶ[ν
ἐκατοστής, (vac.) γιγνομένης σοι, ὡς εἴρηται, ὅτε βούλε[ι] τ[ῆς
90 εἰσπράξεως καὶ παντὶ τῷ κυρίως ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἀπ[αιτοῦντι
ἐκ τε ἐμοῦ τοῦ ὑποχρέου καὶ τοῦ ἐγγυη[τοῦ καὶ
ἐξ ὀπ[ο]τέρου οὐδ' ἂν ἡμῶν αἰρή κατὰ τὸ τῆς [c. 10 letters
δίκαιον καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῶν {ἡμ[ῶν]} πάντων
τῶν καὶ ὑποκειμένων σοι ἰδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς καθ[άπερ ἐκ δίκης.
(m. 2) Φλ(αουῖος) Ἰου[λι]λιανὸς λαμπρότατος τριβούνος υἱὸς Εὐσεβ[ίου] ὁ προ-
96 γεγραμμένος ἐδεξάμην παρὰ σοῦ τοῦ Αὐρηλίου Ἀγαθοκλ[ῆ]
εἰς εἰδίαις μου χρίας τὰ προγεγραμμένα ἀκίνδυνα [ὄντα
χρυσίου νομισμάτια δέκα παρὰ κεράτια δέκα καὶ προ[σαπέ-
λυσά σοι τὴν νομὴν ἢ τοι χορηγίαν διαφεροῦς. [up to c. 5 letters δωρεῶν
100 δύο χορηγουμένων ἐν δυὶ πρατηρίοις πρὸς [τόποις Δρόμου (ἦτοι?)
Πέντε Κλημακίων καὶ Ὀσιρίω ἦτοι Στρεπ[τῶ] ἐπὶ τῷ
ταύτας ἡμερουσίως χορηγίσθ<α> ὑπὲρ φιλανθρώπου [τῶν αὐ-
τῶν δέκα χρυσίνων ἀκουλάντως μέχρι συνπ[ληρώσεως
αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδώσω σοι τὰ αὐτὰ δέκα χρύσινα παρὰ κεράτι[α δέκα
105 πάραυτα ὀπηγίκα ἂν [β]ουληθείης καὶ συμφωνῶ μοι πάντ[α τὰ προ-
γεγραμμένα καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα καὶ ἀπέλυσα.
(m. 3) Φλ(αουῖος) Θεοφάνιος υἱὸς τοῦ [τῆ]ς μακαρίας μνήμης Πέ[τρου] ἀπὸ
πρημηκηρίων σχολῆς ταχυδρόμων τῆς Ἀγουσταλι[α]νῆς τῆς [ξέως οἰκῶν
πρὸς τόπῳ ἐν Ταποσίρεως ἐν το[ῖ]ς ἰδίοις ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἐγγυῶ[μαι
καὶ

- 110 ἀναδέχομε κατὰ τὸ τοῦ μανδάτορος δίκειον παρὰ σοὶ τῷ Αὐρηλίῳ
Ἀγα[θοκλεῖ
τὴν δε ἀπό[δ]οσιν ἀκυνδύνως τῶν προγεγραμμένων καὶ ἐγδανισθ[έντων
παρὰ σοὶ τῷ Φλ(αουῖῳ)] Ἰουλιανῷ τριβούνου χρυσίου νομισματίων δέκ[α
παρὰ κεράτια
δέκα καὶ τὴν ἡμερουσίαν χορηγίαν εἰς <σ>υμπλήρωσιν αὐτῶν τοῦ
[φιλανθρώπου
δωρηῶν δύο χορηγουμένων ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις δυὶν π[ρατηρίοις
115 τῆ] ἐμῆ πίστι καὶ ἐντολῇ καὶ ἡμι[ν] ὑπεύθυνος τῆ τε ἀποδόσι καὶ πάσι
[τοῖς ἐγ-
γραμμένοις καὶ συμφωνῶ μ[ο]ι πάντα ὡς πρόκιτε καὶ ἐπερ[ω]τη[θεὶς
ὡμολόγησα
καὶ ἀπέλυσα. (m. 4) + Πέτρος ζυγοστάτης τόπου Καισαρίου: δι' ἐμ[οῦ]
ἐστα-
θμέσθησαν καὶ παρεδόθησαν τῷ λα<μπ>ροτάτῳ Ἰουλιανῷ [τὰ
ἐκδανειθέντα
αὐτῷ παρὰ Ἀγαθοκλῆ χρύσινα δέκα παρὰ κεράτια [δέκα.
(m. 5) Αὐρήλ[λ]ιος Ἰωάννης υἱὸς [.] [.] οἰκῶν πρὸς {σ} τόπῳ κα[λουμένῳ
121 Ἀσ{σ}κλᾶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις μα[ρτυρῶ. (m. 6)] Αὐρήλιος Μακάριος υἱὸς [.] [.]
οἰκῶν πρὸς τόπῳ καλουμένῳ [.] [.] ὡ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις μαρτυρῶ. (v.) [
(vac.) (m. 7) + Νεμεσάμμων συναλλαγατογράφ(ος) τόπ[ου]
(vac.) Ἡρακλείδου + ἐτέλ(εσα?) (shorthand?)
(m. 8) Ἀγαθοκλῆς υἱὸς Ζωσῆ (vac.) μου Φ'αβίου Ἰουλιανῶ: [
126 ἐδεξάμην παρὰ σοῦ τὰ χρεωστηθέντα μοι ἐπὶ τῆ [ὑπο-
θήκη τῶν δοῖο δωρεῶν νομίσματα δέ[κα παρὰ
κεράτια δέκα καὶ ἀναδέδωκα {ι} πλήρης [τό τε
γραμμάτιον κὲ τοὺς καλάμους τῶν δύο δ[ωρεῶν.
130 Μεχειρ κθ, ἰνδικτίωνος] η, ὑπατία Φλαβ(ίου) Ἰωάννου το[ῦ] λαμπρο-
τάτου. (vac.)
(vac.)
(m. 2) Φλ(αουῖος) Ἰουλιανὸς τριβούνος Πέτρῳ ζυγοστάτῃ τόπου Και[σα]ρείου:
διὰ σοῦ ἐσταθμίσθησαν καὶ π[α]ρεδόθησαν μοι τὰ δανι[σθέντα
παρὰ Ἀγαθοκλῆ χρυσίου νομισμάτια δέκα παρ[ὰ] κεράτια δέκα.
(m. 3) Φλ(αουῖος) Θεοφάνιος ἀπὸ πρημηκηρίων σχολῆς ταχυδρόμων τῆς
Ἀ[γουσταλιανῆς

136 τάξεως Πέτρῳ ζυγοστάτῃ τόπου Κεσαρίου: διὰ τοῦ παρούσης ἐμῆ [ἔστα-
θμίσθησαν καὶ παρεδόθησαν τῷ Φλ(αουίῳ) Ἰουλιανῷ τριβούνῳ τὰ
δαμ[ειθέντα
αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Αὐρηλίου Ἀγαθοκλή ἐπὶ τῇ χορηγίᾳ τῶν δύο δωρεῶν
νομισμάτια
δέκα παρὰ κεράτια δέκα <καὶ> πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν ἐπίστιλα. (vac.)
(vac.)

(the rest at right angles along the fibres: possibly one or two lines lost)

140² (m. 2) traces of one line
φ[...]. . . ου . . . ν[...]. . . τας [..]. φερ[...]. . . [...]. [. . .]
τ[...]. ς δωρεῶν δύο. θελήσατ[ε πάρ]αυτὰ [το]ῦ δέξασθαι τότε μοῦ
τὸ ἐπίστ[α]λμα τὴν χορηγίαν ἐφ' ἐκ[άστη]ς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸν εἰρημένον
αἰδέσιμον Ἀγαθοκλήν ποιήσασθαι τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ προσαπ[ο]λυθειςῶν
145² αὐτῷ παρ' ἐμοῦ δωρεῶν δύο (vac.) ἄχρεις ἂν ἢ συμπλήρωσεις
τῷ προειρημένῳ Ἀγαθοκλή παρ' ἐμοῦ γένηται τῶν προειρημένων καὶ
χρεωστουμένων αὐτῷ παρ' ἐμοῦ χρυσίου νομισματίω[ν] δέκα παρὰ κεράτια
δέκα, (vac.) φυλάξαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν νομὴν τῶν αὐτ[ῶ]ν δύο δωρεῶν καὶ
καθαρὰν καὶ ἀπρόδοτον μέχρι ἀποδόξ[ε]ως (vac.) κα[ὶ] πρὸς ὑμῶν
150² ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀπόδειξιν α[...]. . . αὐτῷ ἐπέστιλα μετὰ ὑπογραφῆς ἐμῆς
ὑμῶν τῶν ἀρτοχορήγων Χριστοδώρου καὶ Ἀναστασίου. +
(vac.)

⊕ Φλ(αουίος) Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ λαμπρότατος τριβούνος υἱὸς Εὐσεβίου ἐπέστιλα
τοῖς ἀρτοχορήγοις
Χριστοδώρῳ τόπου Ὀσιρίου ἤτοι Στρεπτοῦ καὶ Ἀναστασίου τόπου Δρόμου
ἤτοι
Πέντε Κλημακίων περὶ τῆς χορηγίας ἧς ἕκαστος χορηγῖ δωρεῶν μιᾶς
155² κάθως προέγραπται. + (vac.)
(vac.)

ὑπατία Φλ(αουίῳ) Ἰωάν[ν]ου τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου), Μεσορή γ,
ἰνδ(ικτίωνι) ζ ἐβδόμη.

2 φλς 4 ἴδιοις 9 l. χορηγίαν 11 εγ[γ]ραμμενα 12 ὑπευθυνοίς, ὑπαρχουσιν
14 υἱοῦ 16 ἴδιοις 17 υἱῶ 21 ἴδιας 23 l. δόκιμα 25 ὑπο, εγ[γ]νητου
27 l. Καισαρείου 28 l. σοι 29 l. χορηγίαν 32 ὑπο 35 l. Ὀσειρείῳ 36 ὑπο
39 l. χορηγίας 46 l. ἐκδανειθέντων 48 ἀναντιρρητως; l. μέχρι 52 εγ[γ]νητης
54 ἀνυπερβετως 55 l. ἀντιλογίας 56 l. δικαιολογίας 57 ὑποχρεω, εγ[γ]νητη 61 l. χορηγίαν

63 l. ἐπιζητεῖν 67 ἰδιωτικῆς 70 l. μῆδενί 71 l. προφάσει 74 ὑποχρεος 76 ἴδιοις
78 l. εἴτε, εἴτε 79 l. εἴτε 81 l. χορηγίαν 84 ὑποχρεον 87 ὑπο[] 90 ὑπερ
91 ὑποχρεον 93 ὑπαρχοντων 94 ὑποκειμενων, ἰδικως 95 φ]λσιουλιανος, υἱος 97 l. ἰδίας,
χρέας 99 l. σοι 101 l. Κλημακίων, Ὀσειρείῳ 102 l. χορηγείσθαι 103 l. συμπ[ληρώσεως
105 l. συμφωνεῖ 107 φλς 108 l. πριμικηρίων, Αὐγουσταλιανῆς 109 ἴδιοις 110 l. ἀναδέχομαι,
δίκαιον 111 l. τε, ἀκυνδύνως, ἐκδανειθέντων 112 l. σοῦ, τριβούνῳ 114 l. δωρεῶν
115 l. πίστει, εἰμι, ἀποδόσει 116 l. συμφωνεῖ, πρόκειται 117 l. Καισαρείου
117-118 l. ἐσταθμίσθησαν 119 l. Ἀγαθοκλεοῦς 120 ἰωαννης 121 ἴδιοις, υἱο[]ς 122 ἴδιοις
123 συναλλαγατογραφ[] 125 l. Ζωσίμιον Φλαβίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ 127 l. δύο; νομισματα (ϛ as if for
abbreviation) 129 l. καὶ 130 ἰν/; l. ὑπατείας; φλαβ' 32 φλσιουλιανος 133 l. δανειθέντα
134 l. Ἀγαθοκλεοῦς 135 φλς; l. πριμικηρίων 136 l. Καισαρείου 137 φλς 138 l. Ἀγαθοκλεοῦς
139 l. ἀπόδειξιν, ἐπέστιλα 143 l. χορηγίαν 144 l. Ἀγαθοκλέα 145 l. ἄχρεις, συμπλήρωσις
146 l. Ἀγαθοκλεῖ 149 l. μέχρι 150 l. ἀπόδειξιν, ἐπέστιλα 152 φλσιουλιανος, υἱος
153 l. Ὀσειρείου 154 l. Κλημακίων, χορηγεί 156 l. ὑπατείας; φλς, λαμπρῶς, ἰνδς

...

(1-17) 'Flavius Julianus, *uir clarissimus*, tribune, son of Eusebius of blessed memory, resident near the martyrrium of St John the Baptist on his own premises, with as guarantor or mandator, ... guaranteeing and undertaking ... in accordance with the right of the mandator both the return without risk of the debt set out below and the daily supply and full delivery of the two bounties of bread representing the gratuity on it (i.e. interest on the debt) as well as all the matters written into this contract upon the security of his own possessions, Flavius Theophanius, *ex primiceriis* of the *schola cursorum* of the department of the Augustal prefect, son of Peter of blessed memory, resident at the place called In Taposiris(?s) on his own premises, to Aurelius Agathocles, the honourable son of the late Zosimus, greetings.'

(18-49) 'I acknowledge by this my assurance, with as guarantor mandator the aforesaid person, that I have received from you on the present day, in accordance with the requests which I addressed to you, for my personal and necessary uses, being free of all risk, as capital, ten solidi of gold, pure, imperial, assayed, less ten carats, weighed out by hand and delivered to me by you in the presence of the guarantor mandator in the public weight standard of the city through Peter official weigher at the locality of the Caesareum, as I acknowledged in answer to the formal question, and that in addition I have released to you the possession or supply of two bounties of bread belonging to me supplied in two places of sale, thus: — first, in a place of sale which is at the locality called the Avenue of the Five Stairways under the supplier Anastasius, one bounty of bread registered in the name of Horigenia daughter of Sarapodorus; second, in a place of sale which is at the locality called Osireum or Twist under the supplier Christodorus, the remaining one bounty registered, along with an additional(?) one loaf supplied in the same place of sale, in the name of Hecebolius son of Eudoxius — having provided for you by way of pledge the tokens(?) of their supply including a copy of the ... to me from Nonna of glorious memory (daughter of ...?) of the same two bounties and other ... and loaves and other things, on condition that these(?) two bounties be supplied (to you?) daily (without?) delivery of payment ... (... on account?) of interest on the above-mentioned ten solidi of gold less ten carats lent out to me from you without interruption and without contradiction until their complete repayment.'

(49-64) 'However, we have determined ..., I the debtor and I the guarantor mandator, or either of us, whichever you may choose, of necessity to repay to you the same ten solidi of gold less ten carats of the capital ... instantly and immediately, whenever you wish to recover the debt, promptly and without delay or contradiction or any lawful demurrer or legal process whatsoever, there being no possibility for me the debtor or me the guarantor mandator, or either of us, when you wish to recover, to delay concerning the repayment of the same ten gold pieces less ten carats, or prevent or impede or interrupt for even one day the supply of the two bounties of bread which are the gratuity (i.e. interest) on them, nor give less nor raise questions nor say that we have returned anything without your written receipt.'

(64-77) 'These two bounties of bread additionally released to you (by us) we shall provide for you, both I the debtor and I the guarantor, or either of us, free of all debt both public and private, and of whatsoever lien and process and enquiry (and we shall tolerate?) no person laying claim to them or part (of them) in any way, and any person who takes proceedings in any way whatsoever or who advances a claim in respect of

the same two bounties of bread additionally released to you by me, or for the sake of part of them, of necessity we, both I the debtor and I the guarantor, and either of us, shall oppose and proceed against forthwith at our own private expense and we shall preserve intact the legal force of this document.'

(77-94) 'If, however, it should occur (may it never happen!) either as a result of an imperial behest or a praesidial order or for any other cause whatsoever that the possession or supply of the same two bounties of bread should be prevented or impeded to the prejudice of all (=any of?) the loaves, (we acknowledge that) such event is to be of no (effect) upon you or upon the gold but such event is to regard me the debtor and me the guarantor or either of us and we are forthwith to make to you full payment of the same ten gold pieces less ten carats and of the legal percentage on them in respect of such gratuities as are deducted, if any, the right of exaction belonging to you, as was stated, when you wish, and to any person demanding repayment with authority on your behalf, from me the debtor and from me the guarantor and from either, whichever of us you may choose, in accordance with the legal force of the mandate(?) and from all(?) our property, which is also pledged to you, in particular and in general, as if (the right were awarded) as the result of a lawsuit.'

(95-106) (2nd hand) 'I, Flavius Julianus, *uir clarissimus*, tribune, son of Eusebius, the aforewritten person, received from you Aurelius Agathocles for my own needs the aforewritten ten solidi of gold less ten carats being free of all risk and additionally I released to you the possession or supply of the same two bounties of bread (belonging to me?) supplied at two places of sale—at the Avenue of(?) the Five Stairways and at the Osireum or Twist, on condition that these are supplied daily in respect of a gratuity (i.e. interest) on the same ten gold pieces without interruption until their full repayment and I shall return to you the same ten gold pieces less ten carats instantly whenever you may wish and I am in agreement with all the provisions aforewritten and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent and I delivered (the contract).'

(107-117) (3rd hand) 'I, Flavius Theophanius, son of Peter of blessed memory, *ex primicerius* of the *schola cursorum* of the department of the Augustal prefect resident at the place (called) In Taposiris('s?) on my own premises, the aforesaid person, guarantee and undertake in accordance with the right of the mandator for you Aurelius Agathocles both the return without risk of the aforewritten ten solidi less ten carats lent out by you to Flavius Julianus, tribune, and the daily supply, in fulfilment of the gratuity (i.e. interest) upon them, of two bounties supplied at the aforewritten points of sale upon my own good faith and mandate and I am liable for the return and all the provisions written within and I am in agreement with all the provisions as aforesaid and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent and I delivered (the contract).'

(117-119) (4th hand) 'I, Peter, official weigher at the locality of the Caesareum: through me there were weighed out and delivered to Julianus, *uir clarissimus*, the ten gold solidi lent out to him by Agathocles.'

(120-121) (5th hand) 'I, Aurelius John son of ..., resident at the place called "Of Asclas" ... on my own premises, act as witness.'

(121-2) (6th hand) 'I, Aurelius Macarius son of ..., resident at the place called ... on my own premises, act as witness.'

(123-4) (7th hand) 'I, Nemesammon contract-writer at the place (called?) "Of Heracleides", completed(?) (the contract).'

(125-131) (8th hand) 'Agathocles son of Zosimus to Flavius Julianus: I received from you the ten solidi less ten carats owed to me upon the mortgage of the two bounties and I have delivered in full both the document and the tokens for the two bounties. Mecheir 29, indiction 8, in the consulship of Flavius John, *uir clarissimus*.'

(132-134) (2nd hand) 'Flavius Julianus tribune to Peter official weigher at the locality of the Caesareum: through you were weighed out and delivered to me the ten solidi of gold less ten carats lent by Agathocles.'

(135-139) (3rd hand) 'Flavius Theophanius, *ex primicerius* of the *schola cursorum* of the department of the Augustal prefect to Peter official weigher at the locality of the Caesareum: through you in my presence there were weighed out and delivered to Flavius Julianus tribune the ten solidi less ten carats lent to him by Aurelius Agathocles upon condition of the delivery of the two bounties (and) for certification I have sent (this order).'

(142-151?) (2nd hand) '... two bounties. Please immediately upon receipt of this order of mine make delivery every day to the aforesaid honourable Agathocles of the same two bounties additionally released by me to him, until the full repayment is made to the aforesaid Agathocles by me of the aforesaid ten solidi of gold less ten carats owed to him by me, and preserve for him the rightful possession of the same two bounties intact and unincurred until the repayment, and for the security of you the loaf-suppliers Christodorus and Anastasius and certification (for myself?) I have sent (this order) with my subscription.'

(152-5?) 'I, Flavius Julianus, *uir clarissimus*, tribune, son of Eusebius, sent (an order) to the loaf suppliers

Christodorus of the locality of the Osireum or Twist and to Anastasius of the locality of the Avenue or (sic) of the Five Stairways concerning the supply of the one bounty which each supplies, as is written above.'

(156?) 'In the consulship of Flavius John, *uir clarissimus*, Mesore 3, indiction 7 (seventh).'

1 The trace is indistinct. The address section of the contract begins in line 2; before that there would have been a date clause similar to that in 4393 7-10, and before that a protocol with or without text, cf. *Tyche* 9 (1994) 35-7.

2-4 For Flavius Julianus see 4394-95 introd.; for his titles and home address see 4394 12 n., 17-19 n.

3 *πλησίον*. 4394 17 has the more precise *ἐπιθεν* at this point.

5 On the *mandator* see 4394 25-6 n.

5-7 There is no standard formulation of this part of the guarantor's identification. The wording may have depended on the location and there are not many documents from Alexandria.

7-8 For the restorations cf. 110-111.

10 *τοῦ φιλανθρώπου αὐτοῦ*. Here *φιλάνθρωπον* refers to interest in kind on the money loan. No parallel has been found, but it seems to emerge quite clearly that the bread doles were to be supplied in place of interest, see 43-47 *ἐπ[ὶ τῷ ...] τὰς δύο δωρεάς ... χορηγεῖσθ[αί] κοί ἀνευ] τιμῆς δόσεως ... λόγῳ (vel sim.)] προσέργον τῶν μνημονευθέντων ... νομιματίων*, and that the *φιλάνθρωπον* is the equivalent of the *πρόσεργον*, cf. 102-3 *ταύτας (= τὰς δωρεάς) ... χορηγ(ε)ῖσθ(α)ι ὑπὲρ φιλανθρώπου τῶν δέκα χρυσίων*. Here *αὐτοῦ* refers back to *τοῦ ... δηλοῦμ[ένου] χρέους* (8) as *αὐτῶν* (62) refers back to *νομιματίων* in 56-62 *οὐκ οὐδε[?] ἐξουσίας ... ὑπερβέσθαι] περὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν αὐτῶν δέκα χρυσίων [νο]μι[ματίων] ... ἢ [κοιλᾶνα κἀν] μίαν ἡμέραν τὴν χορηγ(ε)ῖαν τῶν τοῦ φιλανθρώπου αὐτῶν ἀ[ρ]τιδίου δωρε[ῶν] δύο*.

ἀρτιδίου δωρεῶν δύο. For *ἀρτιδίου* and *δωρεῶν* used of bread distributions see P. Abinn. 63.19, 20 (*ἀρτιδίου*); 6, 13, 19, 21, 24, 49 (*δωρεῶν*). I am inclined to suggest that *ἀρτιδίου* also occurs in 7, where for *τὸ παραρτιδίου*, a nonce word, read probably *τὸ γὰρ ἀρτιδίου*. The photograph published in ChLA XVIII 661 (p. 66) does not positively confirm this, but it looks as if the writer hesitated here, making a very badly shaped alpha as well as bungling the gamma. The plaintiff's lawyer requests that the defendant be required to surrender the plaintiff's shares in the property and in two bread doles, or to give them back, or to pay the market rent, and ends with a request for an expert survey of one element of the property, a courtyard, to fix the rent: *ἀξιοῦμεν δὲ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀποστήναι ... ἢ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν ἡμῶν ποιήσασθαι τούτων ἢ τὸ ἄξιον στεγανόμιον ὅπερ ἂν παράχοιεν ἕτερος [δοῦναι(?), ἀρχιτέκτο]νος ἐπιθεοροῦντος (l. ἐπιθεωρ-) περὶ τοῦ αἰλυδρίου*, 'we request that the defendant in court should vacate ..., or make restitution of these things to us, or give the market rent which any other person would provide, according to an architect's survey in respect of the courtyard'. Then I suggest that we should have *τὸ γὰρ ἀρτιδίου, ὅπερ ἐκοῦσα ἀποδώσει, συνέστηκε*, 'For she has come to an arrangement about the bread dole, which she will surrender willingly'.

13 This man is not known from elsewhere. A 'Theophanius who was a *singularis* on the staff of the Augustal prefect in 504 appears in XVI 1882 3, 7, 15. The *singulares*, originally military guards, were reduced to acting as messengers in this period, see LVIII 3932 3 n., and perhaps, therefore, may not have been very different from the *cursores*, see below, but it seems unlikely that the terminology would have become confused.

ἀπὸ πριμ[ικ]ηρίων. *Primicerius* usually denotes the chief of the section (*schola*) or of the whole *officium*, but LIX 3986 9-10 mentions two *primicerii* of the torturers' section (*schola quaestionariorum*) in the service of the governor of Arcadia, see n. Consequently it seems to be doubtful here whether Theophanius is a former chief of his section, or currently in office as one of two or more.

τ[α]χ[ι]δρόμ[ων]. These were messengers, *cursores* in Latin, one of the sub-clerical grades of the provincial staffs, see LVIII 3934 9 n.

14 *τῆς Ἀγνουσταλιανῆς τάξεως*. For the Augustal prefect cf. 4382, 4399.

15-16 *τόπω [κα]λοῦμέ[νῳ] ἐν Ταποσίρεως*. Cf. 109 *πρὸς τόπω ἐν Ταποσίρεως*, confirming the odd formulation. Taposiris is best known as a place name, but can also be a female personal name, see F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* s.v. Here perhaps it is easier to suppose that it was a locality named after a prominent landowner in the area.

20 *καθ' ἃς προσήγαγόν σοι παρακλήσεις*. Cf. e.g. P. Coll. Youtie II 92.24 *παρακλήσεις αὐτῆ προσήγαγον λοιπά [δα] ταύτην ἐκδαν(ε)ῖσασθαι κτλ.*, P. Münch. I 10.8 *παρακλήσεις προσήγαγόν σοι ὥστε σε χειρογράφα [ε] κτλ.*

22-23 *ν[ο]μιματία* ... *δέκα παρ[ὰ] κ[ε]ρ[ά]τια δέκα*. The meaning of the minus carats system continues to defy full explanation, cf. LV 3804 258-62 n., 3805 7-8 n., K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia*.

26 *ἐν τῷ τῆς πόλεως δημοσίῳ ζυγῷ*. This is an early reference to the *δημόσιος ζυγός*, which mostly appears

in papyri of the sixth and seventh centuries from places other than Alexandria. The wording with $\epsilon\nu$ is unusual, if not unique. Normally we find simply $\delta\eta\mu\omega\sigma\iota\omega$ $\zeta\upsilon\gamma\omega$, 'by the public standard', with reference to sums paid in gold, and contrasted with $\iota\delta\iota\omega\tau\iota\kappa\omega$ $\zeta\upsilon\gamma\omega$ and $\zeta\upsilon\gamma\omega$ $\text{\AA}\lambda\epsilon\chi\alpha\upsilon\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$. We can follow certain arithmetical processes in the conversion of payments between these standards, but there are many problems in the understanding of the terms, see L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* 140–156, and we simply do not know if the 'public standard of the city' here means the same thing as $\zeta\upsilon\gamma\omega$ $\text{\AA}\lambda\epsilon\chi\alpha\upsilon\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$.

I have rejected, doubtfully, the translation 'at the public scale of the city', in the belief that there cannot have been only one scale defined as 'public' in a city as large as Alexandria, see next note.

26–7 Πέτρον ζυγοστάτου τόπου Καισαρίου (l. -ρείου). On ζυγοστάται see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 444–5, ii 1184 n. 84, citing C. Theod. 12.7.2 (363), a constitution of Julian establishing a *zygostates* in each city with a view to eliminating the practice of clipping *solidi*. Obviously one *zygostates* could not supervise all transactions in *solidi* in a city as large as Alexandria, as is also implied by the title here. Presumably there were others in other parts of the city. R. Rémondon in P. Apoll. p. 177 has already noted that there was a confusing variety of different sorts of *zygostates* at different levels, cf. J. Gascou, *Un codex fiscal hermapolite* 61 and n. 45. Note also XVI 2028 5, 7, 10, three entries in an Apion account all beginning $\pi(\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha})$ τῶν ζυγοστατών τῆς Κωνῶν (sc. πόλεως). Even Cynopolis had more than one *zygostates* by the sixth century.

27 τόπου Καισαρείου. The Caesareum was the temple of the imperial cult at Alexandria; for bibliography and brief accounts of its early history see D. Fishwick, *American Journal of Ancient History* 9.2 (1984[1990]) 131–4, 12.1 (1987[1995]) 62–76. It had a large precinct, within which a church was built in the fourth century, see A. Martin, 'Les premiers siècles du christianisme à Alexandrie', *Rev. Ét. Augustiniennes* 30 (1984) 217–8 (with bibliography on the pre-Christian period). For a tantalizing preliminary report of recent excavations on the site see J.-Y. Empereur, *BCH* 118.2 (1994) 503–519.

31 πρατηρίω. This terminology is surprising. We might have expected the bounties of bread, as *δωρεά*, to be free, and there is no suggestion that the *panis aedium*, if that is what is at issue here, required payment. However, persons rich enough to build a house in a capital city would have no difficulty in buying bread unless there was a famine. The main benefit, therefore, might have been the right to have bread guaranteed when supplies were short. On the other hand, if the right to the bread was valuable enough to be acceptable as interest on a loan, the price must have been below the market rate.

The simplest explanation might be that the free bread was distributed from establishments, bakeries perhaps, which sold bread as well as distributing the official bread doles free.

32 Δρόμου Πέντε Κλημακίων, cf. 100–101. This new topographical name looks as if it means 'Avenue of the Five Stairways', but 153–4 have τόπου Δρόμου ἦτοι Πέντε Κλημακίων (l. Κλιμ-), 'Avenue', or 'Five Stairways'. There are some doubtful indications that there was a locality called simply Δρόμος, see A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* i. 1 pp. 83–4, esp. *Gramm. Graec.* ii 3, p. XI (Life of Apollonius Dyscolus) $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ τὸν δρόμον ἐν τόπῳ οὕτω καλούμένῳ. Lines 153–4 are part of a subscription by Julianus himself, who should have known the proper name, but he had just written τόπου Ὀσιρίου ἦτοι Στρεπτοῦ and may have made a mistake under that influence. Note too XXXI 2553 15, ... κ]λεμακίους τοῦ δρόμου κτλ. (also Alexandrian).

There is just a chance that the name might refer to the steps at which the bread dole called *panis gradilis* was distributed, although we have no specific reference to that form of distribution at Alexandria. The form of those *gradus* is not known, see S. Pennestri, 'Distribuzioni di Denaro e Viveri su Monete' etc., *MEFRA* 101 (1989) 301, but they may have been like the short steep ladders with about half a dozen rungs shown leading up to the tribunal in representations of *congiaria* on coins, see *ibid.* 291, esp. figg. 1, 3.

34 Ὁριγενίας Σαραποδώρου. This person, like Hecebolius son of Eudoxius (38), must have been a former owner, perhaps the first owner, of the right to this dole. The fact that she was a woman, cf. 41 n., shows that these doles were not like the earlier *frumentationes*, which were confined to male citizens, or like those conferred on soldiers or civil servants. This is an argument in favour of assigning them to the *panis aedium*, which was given in return for building a house in the city concerned, originally Constantinople, cf. *introd.*

35 Ὀσιρίω (l. Ὀσειρείω) ἦτοι Στρεπτοῦ. These local names too are unattested. A temple or shrine of Osiris is no surprise. We can only make guesses about the Στρεπτόν or Στρεπτός: it might have been a winding street or a street corner or a twisted column.

37 μετὰ καὶ ἄρτου ἐνὸς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρατηρίῳ χ[ο]ρηγουμέν[ου]. Read presumably ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ π. It seems that an additional loaf was supplied with the second *δωρεά*, although it is difficult to see how such an extra entitlement could be acquired.

39 τοὺς τῆς χορηγίας (l. -γίας) αὐτῶν δ... [. To judge from the subscription of Agathocles below, where

he declared that on receiving repayment of the money he returned τὸ γραμμάτιον κέ (l. καὶ) τοὺς καλάμους τῶν δύο ἄρτων (128–9), the damaged word here should be the equivalent of καλάμους and should refer to tokens giving proof of entitlement to draw the doles, see 129 n.

The initial delta is certain. After that are very slight remains of the tops of, probably, two letters. The final trace is a tallish straight riser, which rather suggests phi or psi. διαφ[seems an obvious possibility, but as yet no suitable word has been thought of.

40 πράξεως is very intractable. After ἀντιγράφου we expect mention of a document. My only idea is that this is a clerical error for πράξεως, but in this broken and unparalleled context, it has little chance of being correct.

41 τῆς <τῆς> λαμπρᾶς μηνίμης Νόνν[α]ς (patronymic?). Nonna is a common name, cf. P. Sta. Xyla pp. 67–70, while Nonnus is comparatively rare; in addition it seems more likely that τῆς has been omitted by haplography than that τοῦ has simply dropped out. Probably this is another women beneficiary of the bread dole, see 34 n.

44–5 ἄνευ (?) τιμῆς δόσεως. See 31 n. for the doubt.

45–6 λόγῳ (?). For the argument see 10 n. Instead of λόγῳ we might have ὑπέρ or ἀντί for the same sense.

49 At the end restore perhaps [ἀκόνδυνα ὄντα], cf. 21 and especially 97.

50 The end of the line may have been blank or some neutral word may have been lost.

53 ὅτε δ' ἄν. Cf. Stud. Pal. XX 128 (=SB I 5273).9 (AD 487), SB I 4660.7 (Byz.); also Stud. Pal. XX 114.21 (AD 421) ἀποδώσω ὁ[πό]τε δ' ἄν βουληθ<ε>ίη, where restore perhaps δ[τ]ε δ' ἄν.

54 παρολκῆς. Cf. 4394 121, but this is a stopgap only.

62 οὐκ. For this oddity cf. 4394 129 n.

68–70 καὶ [μὴ ἐάσομεν (?)] μηδένα κτλ. This seems to give the right sense, but the negative μὴ is odd. Perhaps we need a participle of a verb beginning with κα . [

75 π[αραχρῆμα]. Cf. SB I 5112.54, 5113.9.

77 εἰ μέντοι συμ[βαίη], ὅπερ ἀπέη. Cf. SB I 4503.24.

78 ἐκ θεοῦ νεύματος. Cf. P. Berl. Frisk 4.11, 13.

82 κατὰ πάντων τῶν ἄρτων. Possibly 'all' should be understood as 'any of'. A short word may have been lost at the end of 81, but I have not thought of one which would clarify the sense.

85–9 καὶ παραχρῆμα ...] ... ἑκατοστῆς. The sense of this clause seems to be fairly clear in spite of doubts about the wording of 87–8 (see next note); they undertake to return the capital and to pay the interest in money if there should be any deficit in the delivery of the bread doles. The skeleton of the construction is συμπλήρωσιν ... ποιήσασθαι τῶν ... χρυσίων ... καὶ ... τῶν ... φιλανθρώπων τῆς νομίμης αὐτῶν ἑκατοστῆς. The 'lawful one per cent' is one per cent per month or twelve per cent per annum, the old Roman legal maximum rate of interest, see H. E. Finckh, *Das Zinsrecht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* 40–41. Cf. 4394 47–8 n., 4397 20.

87–8 τῶν, εἰ ἄρα, ὑπο[[φ]ε]ρομένων φιλανθρώπων, '(of the legal percentage) in respect of such gratuities as are deducted, if any'. This εἰ ἄρα can perhaps be compared with Aristotle's use of it elliptically to mean 'if anything', see J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* 38. For ὑποφέρω 'to bring down in numbers', and in the passive 'to decline', see LSJ s.v. V 2, which again is perhaps a parallel. However, the language is not routine and it is possible that another solution needs to be sought. Note too that this writer usually avoids word division very strictly. Not much can be missing at the ends of the lines.

92 [. The trace is minute. The translation assumes ἐ[ν]τολή, cf. 115 τῆ ἐμῆ πίστ(ε)ι καὶ ἐντολῇ, 110 κατὰ τὸ τοῦ μανδάτορος δίκειον (l. δίκαιον) with 7–8, ἐντολή being the equivalent of latin *mandatum*.

93 {ἦμ[ε]ν}. We expect no more than πάντων, but eta seems unavoidable; the next trace is obscure and there seems to be some extra ink which suggests cancellation.

95 Ἰου{λι}λιανός. This is an odd mistake for Julianus himself to have made. The first lambda, if correctly interpreted, is an extraordinary shape, more like a gamma.

96 For Ἀγαθοκλ[ῆ] (gen.) see 119 n. and especially 134 παρὰ Ἀγαθοκλή in the hand of Flavius Julianus as here.

99 διαφεροῦς [. The traces are from a letter with a high looped riser and a hooked foot, perhaps iota or possibly eta. The parallel passage in 28–30 has νομ[ῆ]ν ἦτοι χορηγ{ε}σαν τῶν διαφεροῦσάν μ[ο]ι ἄρτιδίου δωρεῶν δύο χορηγουμένων, κτλ., which is what we expect here, although there is not room simply to supply μοι ἄρτιδίου δωρεῶν and we miss the article before διαφεροῦς [.

100 (ἦτοι?). Cf. 32 n., with 153–4.

102-3 τῶν αὐ]τῶν. Possibly, in view of the clerk's reluctance to divide words, we should restore αὐτῶν] τῶν, in spite of 104 τὰ αὐτὰ δέκα χρύσινα.

106 ἀπ[έλυσα. Cf. 117, where the guarantor also subscribes with this term (for which see LVIII 3952 53 n.), as well as 4394 213, 238 and 4397 208 n.

115 καὶ ἡμι{ν} (l. εἰμι). For ἡμί representing εἰμί see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 240; for the irrational addition of a final nu see *ibid.* 111-114, especially 113 para. d.

117 ἀπέλυσα. See 106 n.

119 Ἀγαθοκλή (gen.). Cf. [96], 134, 138, with Ἀγαθοκλήν (acc.) in 144 and Ἀγαθοκλή (dat.) in 146. For the declension of names in -κλής in the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 70-72, especially 72 para. b, with 70 fn. 1 on the inscriptions and Ptolemaic papyri. Both Julianus ([96], 134) and his guarantor Flavius Theophanius (138) use the genitive in -κλή, and Julianus uses -κλήν for the accusative (144) and -κλή for the dative (146).

120-121 πρὸς {c} τόπω κα[λουμένω] Ἀ{c}κλά. The same locality is known from SB VI 9219.23, quoted in 4394 17-19 n.

122 πρὸς τόπω καλουμένω [. . . ω. Perhaps only one letter is entirely lost. The remains are ambiguous (]ετω?,] .οτω? etc.) but might possibly be verified against a hypothesis.

123-4 Cf. 4394 246-7. The τόπος Ἡρακλείδου is unknown.

124 ἐτέλλ(εσα). This is what is expected, see 4394 247 n., but the writing here looks more like εξ with an oblique stroke rising from bottom left to top right through the tail of the xi and ending in a squiggle. This suits none of the known verbs used in this position, see J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Noiars-unterschriften im Byzantinischen Ägypten* 14. What follows could be Latin rather than shorthand, but no progress has been made with that possibility in mind.

125 The space between Ζωσέ- and -μου is in fact occupied by descenders from line 124.

Φ'λαβίου Ἰουλιανοῦ stands directly after -μου. I have considered the possibility that it belongs after κοῦ in 126 and that Agathocles simply left the name out after κοῦ and added it in the only vacant space, as well as the possibility that Zosimus, the deceased father of Agathocles, had been a slave of Flavius Julianus, but I have preferred the simpler possibility that the genitive is a mistake for the dative, so that this subscription would have been put into an epistolary form, as is the case with the following subscriptions of Julianus and Theophanius, addressed to the Peter the official weigher in 131-4 and 135-9.

128 ἀναδέδωκα{ι} πλήρης. The putative iota is rather faint at the top and has a rounded foot curving towards the right; presumably it was a reflex addition after κα, because καί is so frequent a word. It is rather cramped, as if the writer hurried to go on to the next word.

On πλήρης used indeclinably see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 138-9.

129 κέ (l. καί) τοὺς καλάμους τῶν δύο δ[ωρεῶν]. See LSJ s.v. κάλαμος VI: 'ticket for obtaining corn-rations = tessera frumentaria, Gloss.'. See also LSJ s.v. καλαμηφορέω (should it not be καλαμοφορέω?): 'bring a corn-token in order to receive a ration of corn (cf. κάλαμος VI), Them. Or. 23.292a'. There are similar expressions in two stories told by John Malalas. One tells of a rich citizen of Antioch in the reign of Commodus who threw tokens to a crowd entitling those who got one to supplies of bread (for life?), the other of a similar act by Constantine at Constantinople:

(Malalas, *Chronogr.* 289 = Chron. Pasch. P.263) ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κομμόδου κτήτωρ τις καὶ πολιτευόμενος Ἀντιοχίας τῆς μεγάλης ὑνόματι Ἀρταβάνης, ἀλυτάρχης, μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι τὸ στεφάνιον τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἐν Δάφνῃ ἐφιλοτιμήσατο ῥίβας ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ Δάφνῃ τῷ δήμῳ καλαμίων συντόμια πολλὰ ἄρτων διαωνιζόντων, καλέσας τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄρτους πολιτικούς διὰ τὸ τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ πόλει τοὺς αὐτοὺς χαρίσασθαι, ἀφορίας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χωρίων πρόσδοτον ἀναλογουμένην εἰς λόγον τῶν αὐτῶν ἄρτων. 'In the reign of the same Commodus a landowner and magistrate of Antioch the Great called Artabanes, after being crowned and serving as alytarch (chief security officer?) for the Olympic games at the sacred Daphne, achieved a reputation by throwing to the people at Daphne many cuttings of reed as tokens for bread loaves for life(?), calling these same loaves 'city loaves' because he gave them as a favour to his own city and setting aside out of his own lands an income large enough for the cost of the same loaves'.

(Malalas, *Chronogr.* 322-3) Ὁ δὲ θεότατος Κωνσταντῖνος ἐν τῇ συμπληρώσει τῆς αὐτοῦ ὑπατείας ἔρριψεν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει χάρισμα τοῖς Βυζαντινοῖς καλάμων συντόμια ἄρτων ἡμερησίων διαωνιζόντων, οὐστια ἄρτους ἐκάλεσε παλατιοὺς διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ βογεύεσθαι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄρτους, ἐκάστου ἄρτου ἀφορίας οἶνον, κρέα καὶ βέστια, ἀφορίας πρόσδοτον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ καλέσας αὐτοὺς πολιτικούς. 'The most divine Constantine at the end of his consulship (ceremony?) in Constantinople flung as a free gift to the Byzantines

cuttings of reed as tokens for daily loaves for life(?) and these he called palatine loaves because the same loaves were issued at the Palace, setting aside wine, meat and garments for each loaf, setting aside an income from his own resources for them and calling them city loaves.'

The stories are hardly historical. There are difficulties of translation, e.g. διαωνιζόντων. I have taken it to imply bread for life, δι' αἰῶνος, but it may have the dictionary meaning 'to be eternal', i.e. at least inheritable for direct descendants. And the text looks suspicious, especially in the second passage, where there is an ugly cumulation of participles and a contradiction in calling the same loaves both 'palatine' and 'city, civil'. Moreover, it causes unease that a writer of about the middle of the sixth century could tell stories of these very informal methods of conferring public bread doles, unknown from elsewhere.

However, it is clear that καλάμων (or καλαμίων) συντόμια were familiar to him as tokens entitling the bearer to distributions of bread. For traces of these words in this sense see G. Goetz, *CGL* VII 344 s.v. tessera (index).

The term implies a change in the shape of such tokens. The earlier tesserae, called τὰβλαι = tabulae in SB I 4514 (269) and XL 2924 6 (c. 270), were presumably of tabular form. Cuttings of reed or cane must have been different. It might be imagined that they were cut lengthwise with varied indentations, so that the half of each length could be matched with the other half remaining in official hands. Presumably they were also inscribed in some way. An analogy might be found in the English system of Exchequer tallies, inscribed and notched sticks of hazel or willow, used as vouchers for the royal finances from medieval times until the early nineteenth century, see *Encyclopedia Britannica*¹¹ (1911) Vol. XXVI pp. 379-380.

130-131 Mecheir 29 of the eighth indiction (499/500) must be 24 February AD 500, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 85, 98, but the consulship of Flavius John was AD 499, see R. S. Bagnall, etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 533. Therefore ὑπατ(ε)ία here is used inaccurately to represent μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν, as in 4394 256, see note. The names of the consuls of AD 500 would probably not have been known in Egypt as early as 24 February, see *op. cit.* 29-30, cf. 4394 256 n. We know that they were not known on 14 January, but there are no documents between then and 5 September, when they are first attested in the papyri, see *op. cit.* 535.

This is the date of the return of the loan and applies to lines 125-131 only in spite of the placing of the subscription, which must have been added subsequently in a conveniently blank space and is the latest portion of the text.

132-156(?) These lines contain four items earlier in date than lines 130-131 and a date clause which probably applies to all of them:

(1) A subscription by Julianus acknowledging receipt of the money loan, addressed to the official who weighed out the coins and delivered them (132-134). This must have been written at the beginning of the transaction.

(2) A subscription addressed to the same official by Theophanius the guarantor, witnessing that the money has changed hands (135-139). This must have been written at the same time as (1).

(3) An order from Julianus to the bread suppliers to deliver the bread doles to Agathocles (140?-151?). The top is damaged and a line or two may be missing.

(4) A subscription by Julianus confirming his preceding order (152?-155?)

The two items (3) and (4), as well as the following date, are no longer written across the fibres and parallel with the short side of the roll like the rest, but in long lines along the fibres and consequently at right angles to all that precedes. It is not easy to suggest why this should have been so. It is possible that they constituted a separate document at first and were then pasted to the end of the contract, but there is no sign that the join is different from the others in the roll. Damage at the top edge, which corresponds with the right edge of the earlier part of the document, may have removed one or two lines, but it may be that the remains of lines 140-141(?) are enough to have contained the necessary address from Julianus to the suppliers of the bread doles, cf. 152-3.

136-7 [έστα]θμίσθησαν. The beginning of 137 is corrected, possibly from φθ.

142 πάρα[αυτα] [το]ῦ δέξασθαι. Cf. P. Ross.-Georg. IV 4.1, P. Lond. IV 1386.6, P. Harr. I 156.1 (BL III 62).

149 ἀπόδοτον. The word *ἀπόδοτος is an *addendum lexicis*.

150 . . . []αντω. I suspect that ἐμ]αντῶ is to be restored, but before that there are some three letters which have defeated me. The first looks most like alpha, the second, the presence of which is mainly suggested by the spacing, may be entirely lost or part of it may be represented by the end of the first and the beginning of the third, which could perhaps be tau or part of pi.

151 ἀρτοχορήγων, cf. 152. The word *ἀρτοχορήγος is an *addendum lexicis*.

153 ἤτοι. Cf. 32 n.

156 Mesore 3 of the seventh indiction (498/9) must be 27 July 499, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 85, 101, and this falls correctly in the consulship of Flavius John, see 130–131 n., but the indiction used is not the one postulated and seemingly confirmed for Alexandria, which begins with the date of the *praedelegatio*, 1 May or the Egyptian approximation Pachon 1, see 4394 7–10 n. The seventh indication by that system would run from 1 May 498 to 30 April 499. Here the indiction used is one which begins after 27 July, hence probably the normal dating indiction in many other places in Egypt, which begins on 1 September or the Egyptian approximation Thoth 1.

This is now the earliest date by the consulship of Flavius John, see R. S. Bagnall, etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 533. P. Mich. XV 731.1, of Epeiph, 25 June–24 July, 499, is still dated by the post-consular formula of the consuls of 498, see *ibid.*

The date given here, 27 July 499, is probably the one that would have stood at the head of the contract, although the notary may have used the Alexandrian indiction, see 4394 7–10 n. The debt was repaid on 24 February 500, see above 130–131 n., after only about six months.

4396. FRAGMENT ADDRESSED TO FLAVIUS STRATEGIUS I

15 1B.201/E(c)

14.5 × 6 cm

18 February 542

This small fragment provides the latest known date for Flavius Strategius I, for whom see J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* ii 1034–6, iiiB 1200–1201. He was known to have died between 539 and 9 October 543 (XVI 1985), see J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 65, 69. Gascou, p. 65 n. 366, points out that he may have been dead by 1 March 542, when Just. *Edict* VII.6 refers to Peter Barsymes as his successor in the post of *comes sacrarum largitionum*. Our text proves only that in the headquarters of his Oxyrhynchite estate he was believed to be alive still on 18 February 542. This is, roughly speaking, about the time the plague may have reached Constantinople, according to A. M. Honoré, *Tribonian* 60–64, speculating about the time and the cause of the great jurist's death. 4397 shows that Strategius was to be found in Constantinople towards the end of his life, so we might apply the same speculation to him. At least it may be useful as a mnemonic, like the death of Flavius Apion III, and perhaps that of Pseudo-Strategius III, at about the time of the Persian invasion of Egypt in 619, see LVIII 3959 introd.

The form of the heading shows that the document was a contract, but the papyrus breaks off before the nature of the transaction emerges. The very scanty traces of the endorsement suggest that the document was called by the neutral term *γρ(αμμάτιον)*.

There is a sheet join running vertically about 7 cm from the left edge. Unusually the fibres on the left hand sheet are perpendicular to the writing, which runs along horizontal fibres on the right hand sheet. The endorsement on the back runs downwards across the fibres of the left hand sheet. Probably the clerk has cut out a piece which included part of the first, protective, sheet of the roll, the so-called protocollon, which was always attached with its fibres running contrary to those on the remainder of the roll, see E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16) 20–22 (§§3.5.1–2).

+ βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν
δεσπότητος Φλ(αοῦτου) Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀβγούστου καὶ
Ἀυτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους
ιδ, μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλ(αοῦτου) Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου), Μεχεῖρ
κδ⁻, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ε.
Φλαοῦτω Στρατηγίω τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφνεστάτ^ω
5 ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ εὐκλεεστάτῳ στρατηλάτῃ, πατρικίῳ,
γεουχο[ῦντι] καὶ ἐνταῦθα [τ]ῆ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρρυχιτῶν
πόλει δι[ὰ Μηνᾶ ο]ικέτου τ[οῦ] ξ[π]ε[ρωτῶντο]ς καὶ προσ-
π[οριζ]οντος κτλ.

Back, downwards across the fibres:

+ . . [.] . [

2 φλξίουστρινιανου, αυτοκρα/ 3 I. ὑπατείας; φλξ, λαμπρ/, κδινδ^ο/ε 4 φλαοῦτω, ὑπερφνεστατ^ω

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master Flavius Justinianus, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 14, after the consulship of Flavius Basilius, *uir clarissimus*, Mecheir 24, indiction 5.'

'To Flavius Strategius, the all renowned and most extraordinary consular and most well famed *magister militum*, *patricius*, landholder here also in the glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and providing etc.'

1–3 The regnal year number 14, which is clear to read, is not consistent with the other elements of this dating clause, but it seems possible to be sure that the year intended is 542. In particular the post-consular formula of Flavius Basilius, consul in 541, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 88, without iteration figure, must refer to 542. Mecheir 24 of indiction 5 (541/2) must be 18 February 542 (op. cit. 88, 98). Year 14 of Justinian, however, should denote the period 1 April 540–31 March 541 (op. cit. 87), and for the moment the figure here can only be considered as a mistake for 15.

7–8 For the intermediary Menas cf. LVIII 3935 7 n., and for the continuation of the standard formula 3941 15–18.

9 The remains of the endorsement are very scanty. The usual initial cross is recognizable enough. After that there are two tiny traces of the feet of verticals, then a blank, and then another indistinct foot. A likely guess is + γρ[] . [, i.e. γρ[[αμμάτιον]] . [, the final trace probably being the beginning of the name of the other party to the contract.

4397. SETTLEMENT OF CLAIMS

52 1B.26(B)A(1)–(9), B(1)–(5)

30 × c. 292 cm

17 March 545

The parties to the contract were Flavius Apion II and the monastery of Abbas Hierax. The monastery acknowledged the receipt of the last instalment of a sum of one hundred and thirty solidi as a pious donation and declared that it had no claim against the Apion estate in respect of a piece of irrigated agricultural land. These simple facts

are accompanied by a complicated and interesting story, covering several years, which illustrates one way in which the Apion lands were increased. An Oxyrhynchite landowner called Diogenes was staying in Constantinople when he found himself in need of funds. He borrowed eighty solidi from an agent of the monastery, who was also in Constantinople at the time, on the security for the capital sum of a mortgage of a piece of Oxyrhynchite land of sixteen and half aruras served by a water-raising machine, the interest on the loan also coming from the produce of the land. On a second occasion, when Diogenes and the agent were still, or again, in Constantinople, Diogenes borrowed a second sum of fifty solidi on the mortgage of all his property. He died before repayment of the loans.

All this took place during the lifetime of Flavius Strategius I, the father of Apion II, see 11 n., who turned out to be in possession of contracts for loans to Diogenes upon the mortgage of all his property, which were prior in date to the contracts held by the monastery. The heirs of Diogenes, his brother and sister, resigned any claim to inherit from Diogenes, no doubt because the inheritance consisted of debts, and Strategius became the owner of his lands. The monks found that they had no rights to the property, which had already been mortgaged when they accepted it as security.

The agent went back to Constantinople and requested Strategius that the piece of land should be ceded to the monastery. Strategius proved that his claims were prior, whereupon the agent asked him to forgo his rights for the sake of piety and because of the poverty of the monastery. Strategius was moved by this plea. He wrote to his Oxyrhynchite administrators to pay the hundred and thirty solidi to the monastery. They paid seventy-two solidi, being one Roman pound of gold, and this was deposited with the zygostates of Oxyrhynchus to be lent out at interest which was to go to the monastery until the monks could find a piece of land to be bought. Eventually the zygostates died and the gold was recovered from his heirs, and at that stage the monastery sent another delegation to Constantinople to try to recover the remaining fifty-eight solidi which Strategius had promised. By this time Strategius was dead: note that 4396 shows that at Oxyrhynchus he was still believed to be alive on 18 February 542. His son Flavius Apion II, who had been consul in 539, was still a minor at the time of the death of Strategius, that is, presumably, under twenty-five, the Roman age of majority, and Apion's mother Leontia, a new name in this family for us, was in charge of him. Mother and son wrote to the administrators of their Oxyrhynchite estate to deliver the remaining sum to the monastery. The joint letter was presumably written before 9 October 543, when XVI 1985 shows Apion in sole control of his estates. With these facts and dates we may calculate roughly that Apion II was born about 517 or 518 and held his consulship (539) at the age of twenty-one or twenty-two. The present contract of 17 March 545 was concluded when the monastery recovered its fifty-eight solidi: it acknowledged the receipt of the fifty-eight solidi, certified that it had received the earlier instalment of seventy-two solidi from Strategius, and that it had recovered this sum

again from the heirs of the zygostates, and in addition acknowledged that it had no more claim against the Apion estate on the piece of land that had belonged to Diogenes.

It seems very likely that this Diogenes is the same as the one referred to in Apion accounts with entries noted *δικαίου Διογένους*, see E. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 101: '... the Apion estate seems to have kept separate accounts for properties which it had acquired from various owners. Thus, lands in various parts of the estate which had formerly belonged to a certain Diogenes were kept as a separate unit.³⁷ Note 3 refers to XVI 1910 25, which records revenue from such land in the village of Plēin, location unknown, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 152, 1910 26 located in a *κτῆμα Πλακίτου*, probably in the same area (Pruneti 152), 1911 53 (= 3804 126) and 1911 115 (= 3804 203), which have *ἐδάφ(ου) Διογένους* in the locality of Taruseb(t), in the south of the nome, cf. LV 3804 introd. p. 96, 2024 6 located in Nesu Leucadiu, probably not far away from Tarusebt, see LV pp. 96-7. Hardy's reference to 2055 39, where there is an individual 'who has stolen the oxen of Diogenes' (*κλέψαντος τὰ βοῦδια Διογένους*), seems unrelated, as do his less confident references to 1935 7 and 2031 1. We can now add LV 3804 102 (= 1911 31, although there without δ. Δ.), located at Taruseb(t), 3804 242 *ἐδάφ(ου) Μεγάλου Γηδίου Διογένους*, roughly in the same area, and XVIII 2195 49, where read *δικαίου Διογένους*, (*δίκαιο(ν)* ed.: the upsilon is a horizontal line above omicron); the land is located at *ἐποικ(ίου) Καινοῦ περὶ Ταλαώ*: Talao had been in the Lower toparchy (Pruneti 193), that is, in the north of the nome. The land coveted by the monastery here was at the village of Ophis, once located in the Eastern toparchy (Pruneti 227). It looks as if our Diogenes, who mortgaged his lands, some twice over, but did not forfeit them till after his death, had once been a person of substantial wealth with land in the north, south and east of the nome. We cannot see exactly how it came about that Strategius acquired mortgages on these lands, but we can see that the Apion estate profited substantially from them at this time, c. 540.

The contract is written *transversa charta*, cf. 4394 introd. para. 3. The width of the document or the height of the roll is 30 cm. There are traces of a join through the remains of the first surviving line and after that there are eleven sheets of very similar widths close to 25 cm each, followed by a last sheet which has been cut short to about 15 cm. The first line of the date formula has been lost at the top and before that there may once have been a protocol in the Byzantine style, for which cf. LVIII 3958 1-3 n. and Pl. VII there, or one without text, see 4395 1 n.

[+ βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης]
 Φ[λ(αοῦτου)] Ἰ[ου]τ[ι]ν[ιανου τοῦ α]ἰ[ων]ἰ[ου] Ἀγούστ[ου] καὶ
 Ἀύτοκ[ρ]([άτορος] ἔτους η, τοῖς
 τὸ γ' μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλα[ου]ίου Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου,
 (vac.) Φαμενώθ κα, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἦ, ἔτους [ε]καρῶ, ἐν Ὁξυρύγχ(ων) πόλει.
 ταύτην τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῶ[ν] ὁμολογημάτων] καὶ ἐπερωτημάτων

5 δίχα δόλου καὶ φόβου καὶ βία[ς] καὶ ἀν[άγ]κης καὶ ἀπάτης, καὶ πάσης
 περιγραφῆς ἐκτός, ποιεῖται τὸ εὐ[α]γὲς κ[οι]νόβιον τοῦ τῆς ὀσίας
 μνήμης Ἀββᾶ Ἰέρακος διὰ Ἰωσήφ πρεσ[βυ]τέρου καὶ προεστῶτος τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 εὐαγοῦς τόπου καὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ οἰκ[ονο]μοῦντος αὐτό, μετὰ
 10 συναιρέσεω[ς] π[άντων] τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ [εὐλ]αβεστάτων μοναζόντων
 εἰς Φλά[ου]ϊ[ο]ν Ἀπίωνα τὸν ὑπερφύεστατον ἀπὸ ὑπάτων
 ὀρδυναρίων, υἱὸν Στρατηγίου τοῦ τῆς πανευφήμου μνήμης,
 διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τῆς αὐτοῦ ὑπερφυείας ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ
 προσπορίζοντος τῷ [αὐτῷ ὑ]περφυεστάτῳ αὐτοῦ δεσπότη πάσαν
 ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης [ὄμο]λ[ογίας] ἄρμ]όζουσαν ἢ ἄρμόσαι δυναμένην
 15 ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχίην καὶ ὁμολογεῖ τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα. Διογένης
 ὁ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης διάγων κατὰ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν
 τηρικαῦτα καὶ δεηθεὶς ὀγδοήκοντα νομισμάτων ἤτησεν
 Θεόφιλον τὸν τῆς εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης καὶ αὐτὸν εὐρεθέντα
 τότε κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν βασιλεύουσα[ν] τ[αῦτα] αὐτῷ δανίσαι
 20 ἐπὶ ἡμιε[κ]ατοστιαί[ο]υ[ν] τόκου καὶ λα[βεῖ]ν παρ' αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας
 τῶν αὐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα νομισμάτων[ν] μ[η]χανῆν ἀρουρῶν δεκαεξ
 ἡμίους διακειμένην ἐν κώ[μη] Ὠφέ[ι] κ[α]ι [τοῦς] ἐ[τ]ησίους
 τόκους ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν καὶ προσ[όδ]ων τῆς αὐτῆς μηχανῆς
 ἀποφέρεσθαι καὶ ταύτην ἔχειν μέχρι τελείας ἀποδώσεως
 25 τῶν αὐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα νομισμάτων. δανισθέντων οὖν τῶν αὐτῶν
 ὀγδοήκοντα νομισμάτ[ων] παρὰ Θεοφίλου τοῦ τῆς εὐλαβοῦς
 μνήμη[ς] τῷ τῆς λαμ[πρ]ᾶς μ[ν]ήμης Διογένει ἀγοραῖον
 γραμματίον γεγένηται παρ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν βασιλεύουσαν
 ἐν ᾧ ὑπέθετο τῷ εὐαγεῖ κοινοβίῳ τοῦ τῆς ὀσίας μνήμης
 30 Ἀββᾶ Ἰέρακος διὰ Θεοφίλου τοῦ τῆς εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης τὴν
 εἰρημένην μηχανὴν τῶν δεκαεξ ἡμί[ο]υς ἀρουρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ
 τὸ εὐαγὲς κοινόβιον ἐκ τῶν καρπῶν καὶ προσόδων ἀποφέρεσθαι
 τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα νομισμάτων τόκους ἐκάστου ἔτους
 καὶ ταύτην τὴν μηχανὴν ἔχειν ἐπὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ τοῦ τε κεφαλαίου
 35 καὶ τῶν ἐπιναχθησομένων τόκων μέχρι τελείας ἀποδώσεως.
 πάλιν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης Διογένης δεηθεὶς
 ἐτέρων νομισμάτων πενήκοντα ἤτησεν τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς
 εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης Θεόφιλον καὶ τότε διάγοντα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν
 βασιλεύουσαν καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ ἐκδανίσαι, καὶ δὴ πικθεὶς ὁ αὐτὸς

40 τῆς εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης Θεόφιλος καὶ τὰ πενήκοντα νομίσματα
 παρέσχετο Διογένει τῷ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
 τοῖς πενήκοντα νομίσμασι ἐγένετο ἕτερα συγγραφή,
 ἐν ᾗ ἰδικὴν καὶ γενικὴν πάντων αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
 ὁ αὐτὸς Διογένης ὁ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης ὑποθήκην
 45 ἐποίησατο. (vac.) τούτων οὕτως προκεχωρηκότων συνέβη τὸν τῆς
 λαμπρ[ᾶς] μ[ν]ήμης Δι[ο]γένην πρὸ ἀποδώσεως τῶν
 ἐμφερομένων (v.) τοῖς αὐτοῖς γραμματίοις τελευτᾶν
 καὶ Στρατήγιον τὸν τῆς πανευκλεοῦς μνήμης χρεωστηθέντα
 50 παρὰ Διογέτους ἀπὸ διαφόρων δανιακῶν συγγραφῶν
 ἔχουσῶν γενικὰς καὶ ἰδικὰς ὑποθήκας ζητῆσαι κληρονόμον
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης Διογέτους ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ
 ἐποφληθέντα αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης Διογέτους
 παρ' αὐτοῦ νομίμως λαβεῖν. μὴ εὐρηθέντος δὲ μηδενὸς
 κληρονόμου τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης Διογέτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδικῶς
 55 τηρικαῦτα ἀποταξαμένου τῷ κλήρῳ αὐτοῦ Ἀφουᾶ[[ς]] τοῦ τῆς
 λαμπρᾶς μνήμης αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ Κληματίας τῆς ἐν εὐγενεῖ τῇ
 μνήμῃ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῆς ἠνάγκαστ[α]ι ὁ αὐτὸς τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης
 Στρατήγιος ἀπορία κληρονόμου αἰτῆσαι τὴν δεσποτίαν λαβεῖν
 τῷ δικαίῳ τῶν ὑποθηκῶν τῶν ἐμφερομένων ταῖς δανιακαῖς
 60 αὐτοῦ συγγραφαῖς πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῦ Διογέτους
 τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης καὶ νομίμῳ τρόπῳ τὴν νομὴν
 πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων παραλαβῶν ἐγένετο ἐν νομῇ
 καὶ τῆς εἰρημένης μηχανῆς οὔσης τῆς αὐτῆς οὔσιας καὶ περι-
 εχομένης ταῖς Διογέτους τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης
 65 ὑποθήκαις ταῖς οὔσαις παρὰ τοῦ τῆς πανευκλεοῦς μνήμης
 Στρατηγίου. (vac.) ὅθεν Θεόφιλος ὁ εὐλαβῆς τὴν μνήμην τηρικαῦτα
 ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν παρακλήσεις προσήγαγεν
 Στρατηγίῳ τῷ τῆς πανευκλεοῦς μνήμης περὶ τῆς εἰρημένης μηχανῆς
 διδάξας ὀγδοήκοντα ν[ο]μίσματα τὸ εὐαγὲς κοινόβιον δι' αὐτοῦ[[ν]]
 70 κατὰ πρώτην δανιακὴν συγγραφὴν δεδωκέναι τῷ τῆς λαμπρᾶς
 μνήμης Διογένει ἐπὶ ὑποθήκῃ τῆς αὐτῆς μηχανῆς καὶ ἕτερα
 πενήκοντα νομίσματα διὰ ἀγοραῖ[ο]υ ἑτέρου γραμματίου ἐπὶ γενικῇ
 ὑποθήκῃ πάντων αὐτοῦ τῶν πρ[α]γμάτων καὶ ἐδεήθη τούτων
 ἕνεκα παραχωρηθῆναι τὴν εἰρημένην μηχανὴν τῷ εὐαγεῖ αὐτοῦ

τὸν πανεύφημον ὑπατον καὶ τὴν εὐκλεεστάτην αὐτοῦ μητέ[ρα]
 ἀκολουθήσαν[τες]
 τῷ εὐσεβεί τοῦ ἀπελθόντος σκοπῶ (m. 2) ἕτερα πενήκοντα ὀκτώ (m. 1)
 ἐπιτ[ρ]έψαι δοθῆν[αι]
 140 αὐτοῖς. (v.) προσομολογοῦσιν τ[οί]νυν ὃ τε προεστῶς τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐαγοῦς
 κοινοβίου καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ οἰκονομῶν τὸ εὐαγὲς κοινόβιον καὶ
 δι' αὐτῶν οἱ λοιποὶ εὐλαβέστ[ατοι] μονάζοντες τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐαγοῦς κοινοβίου
 πρωτοτύπως μὲν περιόντος Στρατηγίου τοῦ πανευκλεοῦς τῆς μνήμ[η]ς
 ἐκ γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ εἰληφέναι παρὰ τῶν προσηκόντων τότε
 145 τῷ ἐνδόξῳ αὐτοῦ οἴκῳ χρυσοῦ λίτραν μίαν, ἣν περ κατὰ τὰ
 προδιηγηθέντα ὁμολογοῦσιν εἰληφέναι παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων
 τοῦ μακαρίου Σερήνου τοῦ ζυγοστάτου, ἀρτίω[ς] δὲ ὁμοίως δέξασθαι
 καὶ εἰς χεῖρας λαβεῖν ἕτερα χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια πενήκ[ον]τα ὀκ[τῶ]
 παρὰ κεράτια διακόσια τριάκ[ον]τα δύο, ἄπερ ἔγραψαν Ἀπίω[ν]
 150 ὁ πανεύφ[η]μος ὑπατος καὶ ἡ ε[ὐκλ]εεστάτη αὐτοῦ μήτηρ ἀρτίως δοθ[ῆ]ναι
 αὐτοῖς καὶ μηδένα λόγον ἔχειν περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μηχανῆς ἕνεκεν
 διὰ τό, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μηδεμίαν νομίμην ἔχειν δικαιολογί[α]ν
 ἐπὶ ἐκδικήσει ταύτης διὰ τὰς προ[το]γενεστέρας ὑποθήκας Στρατηγίου
 τοῦ τῆς πανευκλεοῦς μνήμης, χάριτας δὲ ὁμολογεῖν καὶ ὑπερεῦξασθαι
 155 τοῦ πανευφήμου τῆς μνήμης Στρατηγίου ὑπὲρ ὧν εὐσεβείας χάριν
 ἐπέτρεψεν ἔτι περιῶν δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὰ ἑκατὸν τ[ριάκον]τ[α] ν[ο]μίσματα
 καὶ ὁμοίως ἰκετεῦεν τὸ θεῖον μακροζωεῖαν χαρίζασθαι τῷ
 πανευφήμῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων Ἀπίωνι καὶ τῇ εὐκλεεστάτῃ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ
 Λεοντία, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ μὴ ἀνάγκην ἔχοντες ἀρτίως ἐπέτρεψαν
 160 ἕτερα πενήκοντα ὀκτώ νομίσματα δοθῆναι πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν
 τῶν τότε γραφέντων παρὰ τοῦ τῆς πανευκλεοῦς μνήμης Στρατηγίου
 ἔτι περιόντος δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν
 διομολογηθέντων μάρτυρα τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενοι ὠμολόγησαν
 τούτοις ἐμμένειν, ταῦτα διαφυλάττειν, κύρια ἡγείσθαι διὰ παντός,
 165 καὶ μὴ ἐναντιωθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἢ μέρει αὐτῶν ἢ κεφαλαίῳ, μὴ νῦν,
 μὴ μετὰ <τα>ῦτα, μὴ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ ἢ ὑπερορίῳ, μὴ ἐκτός
 δικαστηρίου, μὴ διὰ δεήσεως ἐπανατινομένης τῷ καλλινίκῳ
 ἡμῶν δεσπότῃ, μὴ ἐπὶ φίλων [αἰτι]ᾶσθαι, μηδὲ μέμψασθ[α]ι αὐτοῖς
 ἢ μέρει αὐτῶν, ἢ δικαίῳ ἢ ἐν ἀγίαις ἐκκλησίαις, μηδὲ λέγειν περιγραφὴν
 170 τινα ἢ ῥαδιουργίαν ὑπομεμενηκέναι διὰ τὸ καὶ κεκριμένῳ

λογισμῶ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἠκριβωμένων νόμων μαθεῖν μηδεμίαν
 αὐτοῦς ἔχειν ἀγωγὴν μηδὲ μεθοδίαν νομίμως ἐπὶ τῇ
 ὑποθήκῃ τῆς εἰρημένης μηχανῆς διὰ τό, ὡς εἴρηται, προγενεστέρας
 εὐρῆσθαι τὰς ὑποθήκας τὰς ἐν ταῖς δανακαῖς συγγ[ρα]φᾶ[ι]ς Στρατηγί[ο]υ
 175 τοῦ πανευφήμου τῇ μνήμῃ, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ εὐσεβείας τὰ αὐτὰ πενήκοντα
 ὀκτώ νομίσματα δοθῆναι α[ὐτο]ῖ[ς] ἤτοι τῷ εὐαγεί αὐτῶν κοιν[ο]βίῳ.
 καὶ προσομολογοῦσιν πάντα δόλον πονηρὸν ἀπείναι ἀπέσεσθαι ταύτης
 τῆς ὁμολογίας, κρατεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦς
 180 οἰκονομησάντων καὶ προεστῶτων τὸ αὐτὸ εὐαγὲς κοινόβιον
 εἰς τὸν ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ἐφ' ἅσασιν
 κατὰ πρόσωπον ὠμολόγησαν καὶ ὑπέθεντο ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ τῆς
 παρούσης ὁμολογίας πάντα ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπάρξοντα τῷ εὐαγεί
 κοινοβίῳ ἰδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ καὶ ὑποθήκης δικαίῳ
 185 πλήρει τύπῳ τῷ περὶ ὑποθηκῶν μηδενὸς ὑφεξαιρηθέντος ἢ
 ὑφεξαιρηθῆναι δυναμένου ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης καὶ ἀναγνωσθέντων
 πάντων καὶ ἐρμηνευθέντων αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀρεσθέντων ὑπέγραψαν
 διὰ (m. 3?) Παμουθίου (m. 1) αἰτηθέντος παρ' αὐτῶν ἀγραμμάτων ὄντων,
 τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ τοῦ οἰκονόμου βαλόντων ἀραχημιο[. . .] ο.
 (m. 4?) πρὸς πίστιν καὶ βεβαίωσιν τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν διομολ(ογ)ηθέντων καὶ τα[ύ]τας
 190 τὰς δανακὰς συγγραφὰς ἃς ἐξέθετο τῷ εὐαγεί ἡμῶν κοινοβίῳ
 ὁ τῆς λαμπρᾶς τῆς μνήμης Διογένους (sic), εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα οὐδεμίαν
 ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχομεν βοήθειαν, ἀ[ν]εδώκαμεν τῇ ὑμετέρα ὑπεροχῇ.
 κυρία ἢ ὁμολογία. ἀπλῆ ἐγράφη, ὡς πρόκειται. +

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{Ἰωσῆ} | \phi \\ \text{πρ()} \text{ ἀρ} | \chi \text{ι} \\ \text{πρ()} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{Ἰω} - \text{Ἰω} - \\ \text{c} | \eta \phi \quad \text{c} | \eta \phi. \end{array}$$

 (m. 5) + τὸ εὐαγὲς κοινόβιον καλούμενον Ἀββᾶ Ἰέρακος διακείμενον ἐν τῷ λιβικῶ
 195 ὄρει ταύτης τῆς Ὁξυρυγχιτῶ[ν] πόλεως δι' ἐμοῦ Ἰωσῆφ μονάζοντος καὶ
 πρεσβυτέρου,
 προεστῶτος τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐαγὲς (sic) κοινοβίου, ἔσχον τὰ τοῦ χρυσοῦ
 νομίσμ[ατα] ἑκατὸν
 τριάκοντα ζυγῶ Ὁξυρύγχων κατὰ τὴν προδηλουμένην διήγησιν καὶ
 ἀπ[η]λλάγη
 περὶ τῶν χρεωστηθέντων παρὰ Διογένους τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμ[η]ς
 καὶ οὐδένα λόγον ἔχω πρὸς τὴν ὑποτεθείσάν μοι παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν λαμπρᾷ

200 τῆ μνήμη Διογένους μηχανὴν καλουμένην Τμαω διακειμένην
 ἐμ πεδιάδι Ὠφειωσ οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄλλα πράγματα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν λαμπρᾷ
 τῆ μνήμη Διογένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριτας ὁμολογῶ τῆ ὑμετέρα
 ὑπερφυεῖα ἐφ' οἷς τὸ εὐσεβὲς ἐποίησεν καὶ προσέταξεν δοθῆναι
 τὰ αὐτὰ τοῦ χρυσοῦ νομίσματα ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα τῷ αὐτῷ
 205 εὐαγεῖ μοναστηρίῳ καὶ συμφωνεῖ μοι πάντα καὶ ἕκαστον ὡς πρόκειται
 καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὠμολόγησα καὶ ἀναγνωσθέντων μοι πάντων καὶ
 ἐρμηνευθέντων ἐγὼ ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰωσήφ ἀλάχιτος ἤτησα Παμούθιον τὸν
 θαυμασιώτατον
 ὑπογράψαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος καὶ ἀπέλυσα. + Παμούθιος υἱὸς
 τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Φιλοξένου ὑπέγραψα αἰτηθεῖς παρὰ το[ῦ] α[ὐτοῦ]
 210 εὐλαβεστάτου Ἰωσήφ ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος πρὸ ἐμοῦ τάξαντο[ς ἰδία χειρὶ
 σταυρί[α τρία
 καὶ ἀπέλυσα. '+' τὸ εὐαγὲς κοινοβίον καλούμενον Ἀββᾶ Ἰέρακος
 διακείμενον
 ἐν τῷ λιβικῷ ὄρει ταύτης τῆς Ὁξ[υ]ρνηχτιῶν πόλεως δι' ἐμοῦ Θεοδώρο[υ]
 οἰκονόμου
 τοῦ εὐαγοῦς κοινοβίου ἔσχον τὰ τοῦ χρυσοῦ νομίσματα ἑκατὸν
 τριάκον<τα> ζυγῶ
 Ὁξυρύγχων κατὰ τὴν προδηλουμένην διήγησιν καὶ ἀπηλλάγην περὶ τῶν
 215 χρεωστηθέντων παρὰ Διογέν[ο]υ τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης καὶ οὐδένα
 λόγον ἔχω πρὸς τὴν ὑποτεθειάν μοι παρὰ τ[οῦ] αὐτοῦ ἐν λαμπρᾷ τῆ [μ]νήμη
 Διογένους μηχανὴν καλουμένην Μαω διακειμένην ἐν πεδιάδι Ὠφειω[ς ο] ὑδὲ
 πρὸς ἄλλα πράγματα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν λαμπρᾷ τῆ μνήμη Διογένους, [ἀλλὰ]
 καὶ χάριν
 ὁμολογῶ τῆ ὑμετέρα ἐνδόξου (sic) ὑπερ[ο]χῆ ἐφ' οἷς τὸ εὐσεβὲς ἐπο[ί]ησεν
 καὶ προσέταξεν
 220 δοθῆναι τὰ αὐτὰ τοῦ χρυσοῦ νομίσματα ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα τῷ αὐτῷ
 εὐαγεῖ κοινοβίῳ
 καὶ συμφωνεῖ μοι πάντα καὶ ἕκαστον ὡς πρόκ(ε)ιται καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς
 ὠμολόγησα καὶ ἀναγνωσ-
 θέντων μοι πάντων καὶ ἐρμηνευθέντων<ν> ἐγὼ ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόδωρος
 οἰκονόμος ἤτησα
 Παμούθιος (sic) τὸν θαυμασιώτατον ὑπογράψαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος
 καὶ ἀπέλυσα.

ὁ αὐτὸς Παμούθιος υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρ[ί]ου Φιλοξένου ὑπέγραψα αἰτηθεῖς παρὰ
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου
 225 Θεοδώρου οἰκονόμου ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος μετ' ἐμὲ τάξαντος ἰδία χειρὶ σταυρία
 τρία καὶ ἀπέλυσα. +

Θε|οδώρου	Θεο|δώ—	Θεο|δώρου	(m.6)	+ Καμουήλ	διάκονος	ἐλέει
οἰκο|νόμου	ρου|οικο—	οἰκ|ονό—				
	νό|μου	μο|υ.				

θ(ε)ῦ τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρίου
 Μαρτυρίου μαρτυρ(ᾶ) τῆ παρούση ἀσφαλεία αἰτηθεῖς παρ' Ἰωσήφ καὶ
 Θεοδώρου τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων
 προεστῶτος καὶ οἰκονόμου τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐαγοῦς κοινοβίου Ἀββᾶ Ἰέρακος, ὡς
 πρόκειται. + (m. 7) + Παμούθιος
 υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Παπβαοῦτος μαρτυρ(ᾶ) τῆ παρούση
 ἀσφαλεία αἰτηθεῖς
 230 παρὰ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Θεοδώρου τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων μοναζόντων, Ἰωσήφ μὲν
 προεστῶτος,
 Θεοδώρου δὲ οἰκονόμου τοῦ εὐαγοῦς κοινοβίου Ἀββᾶ Ἰέρακος, ὡς
 πρόκειται // (m. 8) [c. 10 letters
 λαμπρότατος υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης Μαρκιανοῦ μαρτυρῶ τ[ῆ]
 πα[ροῦ]ση ἀσ[φαλεία
 αἰτηθεῖς παρὰ Ἰωσήφ προεστῶτος κ[α]ὶ Θεοδώρου οἰκονόμου τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 εὐαγοῦς μονα[ς]τηρίου Ἀ[β]βᾶ Ἰ[ε]ρ[α]κος,
 ὡς πρόκειται +. (m. 9) Φλάουῖος Φιλόξενος λαμπρ(ό)τατος [υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς
 μακα]ρ[ί]α[ς] μνήμης Ἰσίωνος γενομένο[υ]
 235 πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ εὐαγοῦς κλήρου ταύτης τῆς Ὁξυρ[υ]χτιῶν μαρτυρῶ τῆ
 π[α]ρούση [ἀσφα]λεία αἰτηθεῖς
 παρὰ Ἰωσήφ προεστῶτος καὶ Θεοδώρου οἰκονόμου τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐαγοῦς
 κοινοβίου Ἀββᾶ Ἰέρακος,
 ὡς πρόκειται +. (m. 10) Φλάουῖος Φίβ ὁ περίβλεπτος κόμης υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς
 λαμπρᾶς μνήμης Ματρίνου μαρτυρῶ τῆ παρ-
 ούση ἀσφαλεία αἰτηθεῖς παρὰ Ἰωσήφ πρ[ο]εστῶτος καὶ Θεοδώρου
 [ο]ικονόμου τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐα[γο]ῦς κοινοβίου
 Ἀββᾶ Ἰέρακος, ὡς πρόκειται +. (m. 11) + Θεότιμος ἐλέει θ(ε)ῦ διάκονος
 τ[ῆς ἁ]γίας καθολικῆς

240 ἐκκλησίας Ὁξυρύγχου υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης [Α]λ[ε]ξάνδρου
γενομένου πρεσβυτέρου μαρτυρῶ τῆδε τῆ παρούσῃ ἀσφα[λεία
αἰτηθεῖς π[α]ρὰ Ἰωσήφ προεστ[ώ]τος καὶ Θεοδώρου οἰκονόμου
τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐαγοῦς κοινοβίου Ἀββᾶ Ἰέρακος, ὡς πρόκειται +.

(m. 12) + δι' ἐμοῦ Ἰούστου ὑποδιακ(όνου) συμβολαιογράφ(ου) ἐτελειώθη.
245 + di' em(u) Iust(u) upodiaton(u) symbolai(ografu) eteliothh +.
(shorthand).

Back, across the fibres of the verso:

(m. 1?) + ὁμολ(ογία) γεναμ[ένῃ δι](ὰ) Ἰωσήφ πρ(εσβυτέρου?) καὶ ἀρχιμανδρ(ίτου)
τοῦ ἀγίου
μοναστηρ(ίου) [καλ]ομένου Ἀββᾶ Ἰερακ[ο]ς εἰς τὸν
ὑπερφύεστατον Ἀπίωνα καὶ εἰς τὴν πανεύφημ[ον]
250 (vac.) αὐτοῦ μητέρα +. (vac.)

2 ὑπατιαν: 1. ὑπατεῖαν	3 ἰνδύ'η, οξυρυγχ	7 ἱερακος	8 αὐτό: ο κοιτ. from ω
11 υἱόν	12 1. ἐπερωτῶντος	19 1. δανείσαι	24 1. ἀποδόσεως
29 ὑπεθετο	30 ἱερακος	35 1. ἀποδόσεως	39 1. ἐκδανείσαι, πειθεῖς
ὑπαρχοντων	46 1. ἀποδόσεως	49 1. δανειακῶν	50 ἱδικασυποθηκας
58 1. δεσποτεῖαν	59 ὑποθηκας; 1. δανειακαῖς	65 ὑποθηκας; 1. τῷ	70 1. δανειακῆν
73 ὑποθηκη	76 ἱδικας; 1. δανειακαῖς; ὑπεδειξεν	77 ὑποθηκην	79 ὑποδειχθεντων
85 ὑποθηκην	86 ὑποθηκας; 1. δανειακαῖς	91 νομῶ	95 ὑπερφυεια
γινόμενα	105 ὑπερ	110 ἱερακος	113 ὑπερφυεστατον, ὑπατων
119 ὑπερφυ[ε]στατος	121 1. ἐπιρρηεῖς	126 ὑπερφυεια	129 ἰωσηφ
138 ὑπατον	150 ὑπατος	153 ὑποθηκας	154 ὑπερευξασθαι
1. μακροζωῖαν	158 ὑπατων	159 ὑπερ	166 ὑπεροριω
170 ὑπομεμενηκεναι	173 ὑποθηκη	174 ὑποθηκας; 1. δανειακαῖς	167 1. ἐπανατεινομένης
181 ὑπεθεντο	182 ὑπαρχοντα, ὑπαρξοντα	183 ἱδικως, ὑποθηκης	179 1. οἰκονομησόντων
ὑφεξαιρηθεντος: 1. ὑφεξαιρηθέντος	185 ὑφεξαιρηθηναι: 1. ὑφεξαιρηθῆναι; ὑποθηκης	193 (crosses) πρ()	184 ὑποθηκων,
190 1. δανειακαῖς	191 1. ὁ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης Διογένης	194 ἱερακος	186 ὑπεγραψαν
196 1. εὐαγοῦς	199 ὑποθεθειαν	201 1. ἐν	195 ἰωσηφ
θαυμας	208 ὑπογραψαι, υἱος	209 ὑπεγραψα	202 ὑμετερα
219 1. ἐνδόξω	221 προκ//	223 ὑπογραψαι	207 ἰωσηφ; 1. ἐλάχιστος;
228 ἱερακος	229 μαρτυρ/ς	230 ἰωσηφ bis	211 ἱερακος
1. προεστῶτος	234 λαμπρ/, ἱκωνος	236 ἰωσηφ, ἱερακος	216 ὑποθεθειαν
239 ἱερακος, θυ	242 ἰωσηφ	243 ἱερακος	226 θυ
245 ἐπιῦσθυποδιακοῦsymbol ^{ai} /eteliothh	247 ὁμολ/, δι/ἰωσηφ, πρ()	244 ἰουστουὑποδιακ/συμβολαιογραφ/	227 μαρτυρ/, παρίωσηφ
		248 μοναστηρ/, ἱερακ[ο]ς	232 υἱος
			233 ἰωσηφ;
			238 ἰωσηφ; 1. Θεοδώρου

(1-3) '(In the reign of our most godly and most pious master), Flavius Justinian, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 18, under the consuls for the 3rd time after the consulship of Flavius Basilius, *uir clarissimus*, Phamenoth 21, indiction 8, year 221/190, in the city of Oxyrhynchī.'

(4-15) 'This acknowledgement of promises and interrogations free of all guile and fear and force and compulsion and deception and without any fraudulent intent is made by the well-sanctified coenobitic monastery of Abbas Hierax of sainted memory through Joseph, priest and provost of the same well-sanctified place and Theodorus, the steward administering it, with the approval of all the most discreet monks within it, for the most excellent Flavius Apion once ordinary consul, son of Strategius of all-famous memory, through Menas slave of his Excellency, putting the question and providing for his same most excellent master all conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction) arising from the present acknowledgement which are appropriate or capable of being appropriate, and it acknowledges the matters which are written below:

(15-45) 'Diogenes of splendid memory, being then in the imperial capital and in need of eighty solidi, asked Theophilus of discreet memory, who was also at that time to be found in the same imperial capital, to lend them to him at interest of one half per cent (per month) and receive from him as security for the same eighty solidi an irrigated area of sixteen and a half aruras situated in the village of Ophis and draw the annual interest out of the products and revenues of the same irrigated area and hold it until the full repayment of the same eighty solidi. So when the same eighty solidi were lent by Theophilus of discreet memory to Diogenes of splendid memory, a public document was executed by him in the same imperial capital in which he mortgaged to the well-sanctified coenobitic monastery of Abbas Hierax of sainted memory, through Theophilus of discreet memory, the said irrigated area of sixteen and a half aruras, with the intent that the well-sanctified coenobitic monastery should draw from the products and revenues the interest in respect of the eighty solidi for each year and should hold this irrigated area as security for both the principal and the interest which was to accumulate until full repayment. Once again the same Diogenes of splendid memory, being in need of another fifty solidi, asked the same Theophilus of discreet memory, being at that time too in the same imperial capital, to lend these to him also, and indeed the same Theophilus of discreet memory was persuaded and also delivered the fifty solidi to Diogenes of splendid memory, and in respect of the same fifty solidi there was drawn up a second contract, in which the same Diogenes of splendid memory made a particular and general mortgage of all his property.'

(45-66) 'After the events had proceeded in this way, it came about that Diogenes of splendid memory died before repayment of the sums embodied in the same documents, and that Strategius of all well-famed memory, who was the creditor of Diogenes in virtue of various loan contracts containing general and particular mortgages, sought an heir of the same Diogenes of splendid memory with the intent of duly receiving from him the sums owed to him by Diogenes of splendid memory. Since no heir of Diogenes of splendid memory was found, but rather at that time Apphuas, his brother of splendid memory, and Clematia, his sister in noble memory, specifically resigned his inheritance, the same Strategius of glorious memory was compelled in the absence of an heir to ask to receive ownership, by right of the mortgages embodied in his loan contracts, of all the property of the same Diogenes of splendid memory and having taken possession of all the property in due form he came into possession also of the said irrigated area being part of the same estate and comprehended in the mortgages of Diogenes of splendid memory, which were in the possession of Strategius of all well-famed memory.'

(66-75) 'Whereupon Theophilus, discreet in memory, went off at that time to the imperial capital and presented appeals to Strategius of all well-famed memory about the said irrigated area, showing that the well-sanctified coenobitic monastery through him in accordance with a first loan contract had given eighty solidi to Diogenes of splendid memory upon a mortgage of the same irrigated area and another fifty solidi through another public document upon a general mortgage of all his property, and he begged on these accounts that the said irrigated area should be ceded to his well-sanctified coenobitic monastery.'

(75-82) 'In response to this Strategius of all well-famed memory brought forward his particular loan contracts and showed that the general mortgage contained in them of all the property of Diogenes of splendid memory was earlier in date than the public documents shown to him by the former (i.e. Theophilus), insisting in accordance with the laws on becoming owner of all the property of Diogenes in splendid memory because of the sums justly owed to him.'

(82-106) 'On learning these things at that time and reasoning that no just claim is available to him concerning the same irrigated area and that from every point of view he was debarred from this mortgage because the mortgages embodied in the loan contracts of Strategius of all well-famed memory were earlier in date, Theophilus of discreet memory begged the same Strategius of all well-famed memory not to make use of the law and of the rights belonging to him but to have regard to piety and to the neediness of the brothers in the said well-sanctified coenobitic monastery who required the same one hundred and thirty solidi

for the acquisition of their necessary sustenance and for the sake of piety to give to the same well-sanctified coenobitic monastery the one hundred and thirty solidi. Strategius of all well-famed memory, deflected ..., wrote to those who belonged to his Excellency in this city to give to the well-sanctified coenobitic monastery administered by Theophilus of discreet memory (2nd hand) one hundred and thirty (1st hand) solidi. They, upon receipt of such letter, at that time gave only seventy-two solidi to the said Theophilus of discreet memory or to the same well-sanctified coenobitic monastery and they deposited (them) then with Serenus of blessed memory late weighmaster of this city of the Oxyrhynchites with intent that he should lend them out and provide the income from them each year to the well-sanctified coenobitic monastery until the time when there should be found an irrigated area for sale and the same well-sanctified coenobitic monastery should buy this and until the same Serenus should give the pound of gold (i.e. the seventy-two solidi) in respect of part of the price of the irrigated area, found and about to be sold, to the same well-sanctified coenobitic monastery.'

(106-119) 'So when these things had happened in this way, it came about that Serenus of blessed memory late weighmaster of this splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites died and then the representatives of the well-sanctified coenobitic monastery of Abbas Hierax of sainted memory received from the heirs of Serenus the same pound of gold and immediately went up to the imperial capital and asked Apion the most excellent consular and his all-famous mother, who was also his guardian, to command to be delivered whatever sums Strategius of all blessed memory while he was yet alive for the sake of piety through his own letter ordered those who belonged to him to provide, that is the other fifty-eight solidi less two hundred and thirty-two carats by the private standard of this city of the Oxyrhynchites.'

(119-128) 'Recently, therefore, Apion the most excellent former ordinary consul and Leontia his all-famous mother, being both naturally disposed to piety and inclined to accept the requests of petitioners, especially of most discreet (i.e. religious) men and because Strategius of all well-famed memory while he was still alive wrote that one hundred and thirty solidi should be given to the well-sanctified coenobitic monastery, but only seventy-two up to now have been given, gave commands by a letter of their own to those who belong to their Excellencies in this city to provide another fifty-eight solidi to the members of the well-sanctified coenobitic monastery.'

(128-40) 'Therefore, since the other fifty-eight solidi have been given to the same well-sanctified coenobitic monastery through the most discreet Joseph, the same members of the well-sanctified coenobitic monastery, through the same most discreet priest and provost, and through Theodorus, steward, have come to the present agreement, by which they acknowledge that Strategius of all well-famed memory, even from the beginning not taking advantage of all laws and rights and mortgages prior in date and under no compulsion to provide anything for them, but because of piety, gave written orders at that time that the one hundred and thirty solidi be given to them in the locality, and that at that time they received only seventy-two of them, and that recently Apion the all-famous consul and his most well-famed mother followed the pious aim of the departed and gave orders for another fifty-eight to be delivered to them.'

(140-176) 'So therefore both the provost of the same well-sanctified coenobitic monastery and Theodorus the steward administering the well-sanctified coenobitic monastery and through them the other most discreet monks of the same well-sanctified coenobitic monastery acknowledge in addition: in the first instance that in the lifetime of Strategius of all well-famed memory in virtue of a letter of his they received from the persons then belonging to his glorious household one pound of gold, which in accordance with the facts related above they acknowledge that they received from the heirs of the late Serenus the weighmaster, and that recently they likewise received and took into their hands another fifty-eight solidi of gold less two hundred and thirty-two carats, which Apion the all-famous consul and his most well-famed mother gave written instructions to be given to them recently and that they have no claim on account of the same irrigated area, because of the fact, as stated above, that even from the beginning they had no lawful claim in justice to vindication of it because of the mortgages to Strategius of all well-famed memory which are prior in date, and that they acknowledge their thanks and pray for Strategius of all-famous memory inasmuch as for the sake of piety he ordered the one hundred and thirty solidi to be given to them while he was still alive, and likewise that they beseech the divinity to grant long life to the all-famous ex-consul Apion and to his most well-famed mother Leontia inasmuch as they too, though they were under no compulsion, recently ordered another fifty-eight solidi to be given to complete what was ordered in writing to be given to them at that time by Strategius of all well-famed memory while he was still alive, and for security of the matters acknowledged by them they call upon God as a witness and acknowledge that they abide by these terms, keep them, consider them

binding for ever, and do not oppose them or any part or section of them, not at this time, not hereafter, not in a local court or one beyond the frontier, not out of court, not by petition directed to our victorious master, that they will not make accusations among friends, not impugn them (i.e. the matters acknowledged) or part of them, either at law or in holy churches, nor say that they have suffered any fraud or neglect, because by confirmed reasoning and from accurate laws they have learned that they have no action or right of exaction lawfully upon the mortgage of the said irrigated area because, as stated, the mortgages contained in the loan contracts of Strategius of all-famous memory have been found to be prior in date, but that on account of piety the same fifty-eight solidi were given to them or to their well-sanctified coenobitic monastery.'

(177-192) 'And they further acknowledge that all evil fraud is and shall be absent from this acknowledgement and that it remains in force against themselves and their successors as stewards and provosts of the same well-sanctified coenobitic monastery for all time to come, and in answer to the formal question on all points they gave their assent in person and mortgaged for security of the present acknowledgement all possessions, present and future, of the well-sanctified coenobitic monastery in particular and in general by way of pledge and by right of mortgage in the full form of the law respecting mortgages, no deduction having been made or able to be made from this mortgage and when all the terms had been read and interpreted to them and had satisfied them they subscribed by agency of (3rd hand) Pamuthius, (1st hand) at their request because they are illiterate, the provost and steward (each?) applying ... mark(?) (4th hand) in proof and confirmation of the terms acknowledged by us, and these contracts of loan which Diogenes of splendid memory issued in favour of our well-sanctified coenobitic monastery, although indeed in very truth we have no help to be gained from them, we delivered to your Eminence.'

(193) 'The acknowledgement is binding; it was written in a single copy;' (Three crosses decorated with the letters of the name and titles of Joseph, provost and archimandrite).

(194-211) (5th hand) 'The well-sanctified coenobitic monastery called after Abbas Hierax, situated in the Western desert of this city of Oxyrhynchites, through me, Joseph, monk and priest, provost of the same well-sanctified coenobitic monastery: I received the one hundred and thirty solidi of the gold by the standard of Oxyrhynchus in accordance with the narrative set out above and I acknowledge release from the sums owed by Diogenes of splendid memory and I have no claim upon the irrigated area called Tmao situated in the territory of Ophis mortgaged to me by the same Diogenes in splendid memory, nor upon other properties of the same Diogenes in splendid memory, but rather I acknowledge thanks to your Excellency inasmuch as you performed an act of piety and gave orders that the same one hundred and thirty solidi of the gold should be given to the same well-sanctified monastery and I am satisfied in all and every respect as aforesaid and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent and when all the terms had been read and interpreted to me I, the same Joseph, least of persons, asked the most admirable Pamuthius to subscribe on my behalf, because I am illiterate, and I delivered (the document). I, Pamuthius son of Philoxenus of blessed memory, subscribed at the request of the same most discreet Joseph, who because he is illiterate placed before me (i.e. before this subscription) three crosses in his own hand, and I delivered (the document).'

(211-226) 'The well-sanctified coenobitic monastery called after Abbas Hierax, situated in the Western desert of this city of Oxyrhynchites, through me, Theodorus steward of the well-sanctified coenobitic monastery: I received the one hundred and thirty solidi of the gold by the standard of Oxyrhynchus in accordance with the narrative set out above and I acknowledge release from the sums owed by Diogenes of splendid memory and I have no claim upon the irrigated area called Mao situated in the territory of Ophis mortgaged to me by the same Diogenes in splendid memory, nor upon other properties of the same Diogenes in splendid memory, but rather I acknowledge thanks to your glorious Eminence inasmuch as you performed an act of piety and gave orders that the same one hundred and thirty solidi of the gold should be given to the same well-sanctified coenobitic monastery and I am satisfied in all and every respect as aforesaid and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent and when all the terms had been read and interpreted to me I, the same Theodorus, steward, asked the most admirable Pamuthius to subscribe on my behalf, because I am illiterate, and I delivered (the document). I, the same Pamuthius son of the late Philoxenus, subscribed at the request of the same most discreet Theodorus, who because he is illiterate placed after me (i.e. after this subscription) three crosses in his own hand, and I delivered (the document).'

(Three crosses decorated with the letters of the name and title of Theodorus, steward.)

(226-228) (6th hand) 'I, Samuel, deacon by the mercy of god of the holy catholic church, son of the late Martyrius, witness the present secured agreement at the request of Joseph and Theodorus the most discreet provost and steward of the same well-sanctified coenobitic monastery of Abbas Hierax, as aforesaid.'

(228–231) (7th hand) 'I, Pamuthius son of Papbaus of blessed memory, witness the present secured agreement at the request of Joseph and Theodorus the most discreet monks, Joseph being provost, Theodorus steward, of the well-sanctified coenobitic monastery of Abbas Hierax, as aforesaid.'

(231–234) (8th hand) 'I, ..., *uir clarissimus*, son of Marcianus of splendid memory, witness the present secured agreement at the request of Joseph, provost, and Theodorus, steward, of the same well-sanctified monastery of Abbas Hierax, as aforesaid.'

(234–237) (9th hand) 'I, Flavius Philoxenus, *uir clarissimus*, son of Ision of blessed memory, late priest of the well-sanctified clergy of this city of Oxyrhynchites, witness the present secured agreement at the request of Joseph, provost, and Theodorus, steward, of the same well-sanctified coenobitic monastery of Abbas Hierax, as aforesaid.'

(237–239) (10th hand) 'I, Flavius Phib, *spectabilis comes*, son of Matrinus of splendid memory, witness the present secured agreement at the request of Joseph, provost, and Theodorus, steward, of the same well-sanctified coenobitic monastery of Abbas Hierax, as aforesaid.'

(239–243) (11th hand) 'I, Theotimus, by the mercy of God deacon of the holy catholic church of Oxyrhynchus, son of Alexander of discreet memory, late priest, witness this the present secured agreement at the request of Joseph, provost, and Theodorus, steward, of the same well-sanctified coenobitic monastery of Abbas Hierax, as aforesaid.'

(244) (12th hand: Greek) 'Completed through me Justus, subdeacon, contract-writer.'

(245) (12th hand: Latin script) 'Completed through me Justus, subdeacon, contract-writer.'

(246) (Shorthand).

Back of the beginning. (247–250) (1st hand?) 'Acknowledgement made through Joseph, priest(?) and archimandrite of the holy monastery called after Abbas Hierax, in favour of the most excellent Apion and of his all-famous mother.'

1–3 Above the surviving parts of the date clause there would have been one more line, as restored here, and above that a protocollon with or without text, cf. *Tyche* 9 (1994) 35–7, **4395** 1 n., with **4394** 1–5, and n.

For the date clause see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 88. The Oxyrhynchite era year 221/190 denotes the period from 29 August 544 to 28 August 545, which coincides with an eighth indiction. Phamenoth 21 is the equivalent in the Julian calendar of 17 March, see op. cit. 99; this one would consequently fall in the Julian year 545. The figure $\gamma=3$ for the postconsulship of Flavius Basilus is too low: he was consul in 541, so that 545 was his fourth postconsular year. The regnal year figure $\eta=18$ is restored in line 1 in accordance with the table op. cit. 88.

4 *δμολογημάτων* και *ἐπερωτημάτων*. Cf. P. Mich. XIII 659.285–6 *ἐθέμην ταύτην τὴν διαλυτικὴν δμολογῆσαι ἐπὶ πάσει (= πᾶσι) τοῖς ἐμπεριεχομένοις αὐτῇ ἐπερωτήμασι καὶ δμολογήμασι*, 294–5 (same wording).

5–6 *δίχα δόλου κτλ., καὶ πάσης περιγραφῆς ἐκτός*. Cf. Pap. Flor. XVIII 15.3–6 *χωρὶς βίας καὶ ἀπάτης κτλ., καὶ παραγραφῆς νόμου ἐκτός (= ἐκτός)*.

6–7 *τὸ εὐ[α]γές κ[οι]νόβιον τοῦ τῆς δόξιας μνήμης Ἀββᾶ Ἰέρακος*. This monastery, situated in the Western desert of Oxyrhynchus, see below 194–5, 211–212, is presumably the same as the monastery of Ἀπα Ἰέρακος in LI **3640**, which is a receipt for ropes delivered to the Oxyrhynchite residence of the Apion family in AD 533. Presumably rope-making was a craft practised by the monks, cf. P. Barison, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 50–51, 76. Here we learn that the monks of Apa Hierax led the coenobitic life, that the community was ambitious to own land, even if we see it here failing in its attempt to gain some, and that it had enough resources to make substantial loans to local landowners. It had business which took its representatives to the capital of the empire, where in fact the loans were made. My argument in **3640** introd. that it might probably be a small house because its head, the archimandrite, was a deacon rather than a priest, is rather shaken by the fact that here, not much more than a decade later, the archimandrite is a priest, see next note.

On the expression *εὐαγές κοινόβιον* see P. Barison, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 42–3.

The otherwise unknown Ἀββᾶς Ἰέραξ or Ἀπα Ἰέραξ is likely to have been the founder of the monastery, see Barison 33–4. On his title see T. Derda, E. Wipszycka, *JJP* 24 (1994) 23–56.

7 *διὰ Ἰωσήφ πρε[βυ]τέρου καὶ προεστῶτος*. The title *προεστῶτος* usually denotes the head of the house, as is probable here, although some large houses might have two or more, see Barison, *Aegyptus* 18 (1939) 37–8. Joseph is also called *ἀρχιμανδρίτης* in the endorsement, see 247, and probably in his mark 193. This is the greater dignity and is sometimes applied to persons with authority over more than one monastic house, see Barison 36.

Θεοδώρου τοῦ οἰκ[ονο]μῶντος αὐτό. He was the *οἰκονόμος*, cf. e.g. 131, the chief administrator of the monastery, see Barison 46–8.

9 *[εὐλ]αβεστάτων*. For this clerical title see B. Mutschler, *ZPE* 94 (1992) 107.

11 *Ἀπίωνα ... υἱὸν στρατηγίου*. This is the relationship generally assumed, but it is useful to have it specified in view of J. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* ii 1034 s.v. Fl. Strategius 9, 'Possibly father of Fl. Apion Strategius Apion (cos. 539)'. On Apion see PLRE IIIA 96–9, where the relationship is confirmed by a reference to *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 539. We learn here the name of his mother, see below 120 n., cf. 159.

14–15 For *ἀρμόζοντα ... ἀγωγή* see **4390** 4–5 n.

15–16 *Διογένης ὁ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης*. In life he would have had the honorific epithet *λαμπρότατος*, equivalent to the Latin *clarissimus*, once a mark of senatorial rank but much devalued by this date, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* 529, 542. For the traces of his lands in the Apion accounts see introd. para. 4.

16 *διάγων κατὰ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν* (sc. πόλιν), cf. 28, 39, 67, 112. This term seems to be applied to Constantinople as capital of the empire only once elsewhere in the papyri, see P. Cair. Masp. I 67032.20–21 *ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς βασιλευούσης*, but cf. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. *βασιλεύω* II A.

18 *Θεόφιλον*. He was a former steward (*οἰκονόμος*) of the monastery, see 95–6.

20 *ἐπὶ ἡμεκ[αποστια]ο[υ] τῶρου*. Cf. **4394** 47–8 n.

21–2 *μη[χανήν] ἔρουρων δεκαεξ ἡμίσου*. For the restoration of *μη[χανήν]* see 31 etc. For the meaning 'irrigated area, unit of cultivation' see LV **3803** introd., cf. LVIII **3955**.

22 *ἐν κώ[μη] Ὠφέι*. Cf. 201. On Apion interests in this village see J. Gascou, *CE* 47 (1972) 252–3 n. 4. It lay in the Eastern toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 227, presumably therefore not very near the monastery, which was located in the Western desert of Oxyrhynchus, see 194–5 and n.

27–8 *ἀγοραῖον γραμμάτων*, cf. 72, 79; P. Cair. Masp. II 67168.10, 63. Since *ἀγοραῖος* is sometimes the equivalent of *tabellio*, 'notary', see P. Laur. III 88.1 n., IV 182.1–2 n., cf. J. Gascou, *Un codex fiscal hermapolite* 58, perhaps we should understand this more specifically as 'notarial document' rather than 'public document'.

48 *τὸν τῆς πανευκλεῶς μνήμης*, cf. 68, 75, 87 (*bis*), 93, 115, 123, 133, 143, 154, 161, but contrast 11, 155 (both *πανευφήμου μνήμης*), 175 (*τοῦ πανευφήμου τῆ μνήμης*), and 57 (*ἐνδόξου μνήμης*). In the papyri the only parallel is in XXVII **2479**, a petition addressed perhaps to Flavius Apion II, where we find repeated in various cases *ἡ ὑμετέρα πανευκλεῶς δεσποτεία* (3, 7, 14, 18) and in the final farewell *πανευκλεῶς(ατέ) εὐεργέτα, δέσποτα, κύριε* (28). G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. * *πανευκλεῶς* gives two references to John of Damascus (d. 749) and another to some anonymous hymns, all in religious contexts.

It is so rare that it is hard to say whether it is the equivalent of some official epithet or an informal politeness, whereas *ἐνδόξου μνήμης* (57) implies that in life he had the official epithet *ἐνδοξότατος* = *gloriosissimus* (P. Koch, *Die byzantinischen Beamtentitel* 58–73), as indeed he did, see J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 63–4 n. 356, cf. CPR XIV 48.1–2 *[Φ]λ(αουῖου) ... [C]ρατηγίω τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτ(ω) καὶ ἐνδοξοτ[άτω]* (506).

For the doubtful import of *πανεύφημος* (11, 155, 175) see LVIII **3939** 4–5 n.

55 The name *Ἀφουᾶς* is fairly common. I have not found any holder of it who is likely to be identical with this man.

56 *Κληματίας τῆς ἐν ἐγγενεὶ τῆ μνήμης*. In view of the rarity of the name, see otherwise only SB III 7329.10–11 (140/141) and PSI VIII 898.3 (IV?), this Clematia may possibly be the same as one mentioned in XVI **2020** 39, recording a grain payment made *δ(ιὰ) τοῦ ἐνδοξο(ο)π(άτου) Ἰωάννου σοφιστοῦ ὑπὲρ δν(όματος) μητ(ρός) Κληματίας*. However, the date of this document is likely to be well into the second half of the sixth century, perhaps into the five-seventies or even five-eighties, see J. Gascou, *CE* 47 (1972) 251 n. 1, so the likelihood is perhaps remote.

There is the additional complication that a photograph of the papyrus, itself now in Cairo, shows that there may be some doubt about *δν(όματος) μητ(ρός)*. In other places in this text we have *ονομῆς* (16) or just *ονομῆς* (e.g. 17, 18, 22). Here we may well have *ονομῆς*. Then there do seem to be some more shadowy traces before the name. Without sight of the original it is impossible to give a confident suggestion, but *ὑπὲρ δν(όματος) κληρονόμων* *Κληματίας* might be right. (Dr Obbink has now kindly confirmed this reading from the original.) This would place Clematia before the date of **2020**, but even so it is difficult to accept that payments were still being made in the name of heirs of a lady who was dead by early 545.

In life she would have had the epithet *εὐγενεστάτη*, on which see now K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 109 (1995) 181–6.

69 *αὐτο[υ]ῦ*. The clerk first left out *μηχανῆς* at the end of 68 and did not realise it at once. In adding

it the descender of the mu cut into the raised upsilon of *αυτοῦ*, which was evidently already written. He therefore struck out the first upsilon and added a second.

89 *καὶ* { } *τὸ ἐνδεές*. There is space and some trace of ink here, but the surface is also damaged, so that it is not possible to see if there was an erasure. Nothing seems to be wanted.

90 [δέον]. The letters are not struck through, but points above them indicate that they are unwanted.
100 *Σερήνω ζυγοστάτη*. This Serenus cannot be the same as the homonymous zygostates who appears in LV 3805 30, because that document is of 566 or later, see 3804 introd. SB XII 11163.2–3 mentions a *Σερήνος ζυγοστάτης*, but the document is assigned only broadly to the sixth century. It also mentions a *τραπεζίτης* called Macarius, who might possibly be the same as one mentioned in P. Amh. II 157.1, 158.1, I 151 1, and XVI 2045 1, all of AD 612(!), cf. J. Gascou, *CE* 47 (1972) 244 n. 3.

See 4395 26–7 n. for some of the obscurities surrounding the term zygostates. It is interesting to find that here one accepts a deposit of money and is entrusted with the investment of it and the return of the interest to the investors.

114 *τὴν καὶ ἐπιτροπεύουσαν αὐτῷ*. This indicates that Apion II was under the age of majority, twenty-five for Romans, when his father Strategius died, see introd. para. 3. The endorsement here continues to link Apion II with his mother (249–250), even though the date of the contract is a year and a half later than XVI 1985, of 9 October 543, which shows Apion II in sole command of his estate. Note too that this contract is concluded with him alone, see 10–11. Her role in the history of the transaction may have been important to the monks and they may have hoped for further favours from her.

The Roman prohibition against women as guardians of minors had broken down by at least AD 390, see C. Just. V 35.2, and in a later generation of the Apions Flavia Praejecta was in charge of her sons Flavius Georgius and Flavius Apion III, see J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 68.

117–119 Cf. 148–9. The deduction of four carats per *solidus* is characteristic of the ‘private standard’ of Oxyrhynchus in the period after 542, see K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia* 32–4, 36–7.

120 *Λεοντία ἡ πανεύφημος* [αὐ]τοῦ[σ] μ[ήτηρ], cf. 158–9. The name of the mother of Flavius Apion II was not known. It seems that there is no mention of a Leontia with whom she might plausibly be identified. There is certainly no necessity to assume that her father was called Leontius, but there is a Leontius who might be considered for that role: CPR XIV 48, of 506, begins with an address to two eminent persons who had condescended to lend their names to the ripariate of some Egyptian city, possibly Heracleopolis:

Φ]λ(αούτοις) Λεοντίω τῷ λαμπροτάτ(ω) [. . .] καὶ
Στ]ρατηγίω τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτ(ω) καὶ ἐνδοξοτ[άτ(ω) . . .
[. . .] ου ἀναδεδεγμένους τὴν ῥιπαρίαν τῆ[ς . . . πόλεως.

The date and the titles of very high rank indicate that the Strategius is Strategius I. Leontius’ title of *clarissimus* is not so impressive at this date, but he takes precedence over Strategius, which may indicate that he was senior and certainly suggests that he was of equivalent social status. As a contemporary and associate in Egyptian matters of Strategius I he may have been well placed to give his daughter to be the wife of Apion II. A prominent Leontius was PPO Orientis in 510, when Anastasius exiled Apion I, cf. J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 62 n. 348. He too, if he is not the same, might be suitable to have been the father of Leontia.

The line may be a little short. Perhaps restore something like κ[αὶ] αὐτῶν or κ[αὶ] πρὸν.
121 *ἐπιρρεπής*. See LSJ s.v. *ἐπιρρεπής*, G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. * *ἐπιρρεπεία* ‘propensity, partiality’.

151 *περὶ* . . . *ἕνεκεν*. Dr Gomis kindly persuaded me not to bracket either preposition, i.e. {περὶ} or {ἕνεκεν}, citing E. Nachmanson, ‘Zu den griechischen Doppelpräpositionen’, in *Eranos* 38 (1940) 1–8 esp. 5; id. *ibid.* 9 (1909) 71–2, 12 (1912) 187 n. 2, cf. Kühner-Gerth i 529. The closest classical parallel is Lysias XXVI 9 *περὶ τῶν ἐν δλιγαρχίᾳ ἀρξάντων ἕνεκα*.

155 *τοῦ πανευφήμου τῆς μηνίμης Στρατηγίου*. Correct probably to *τοῦ πανευφήμου τῆς μηνίμης*, cf. 174–5 C. *τοῦ πανευφήμου τῆς μηνίμης*.

157 *μακροζωείαν* (l. -ζωίαν). For * *μακροζωία*, not in LSJ or Suppl., or elsewhere in the papyri, see E. A. Sophocles, *A Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, s.v., citing Caesarius (c. 380; Migne, PG XXXVIII 1148), cf. H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus* s.v., adding a reference to Eustathius.

166. *μετὰ* <τα>δτα. After *αὐτοῖς ἢ μέρει αὐτῶν* it might be just conceivable that the clerk really intended *μετ’ αὐτά*, but it seems much less likely.

187 The name *Παμουθίου* was added in a space left vacant at first, certainly in a different ink and

probably in a different hand, which may have tried to imitate the hand of the main writer. It is unlike the sloping cursive of Pamuthius himself (194–225), and not specially like the writing of 189–193.

188 *βαλόντων ἀνασημο*[.] [.] ο. . . . What follows shows that this passage refers to the marks of the provost and steward, but the wording has not been read. The feet of the letters are mostly lost. I have tried to read *ἀγία* in place of *ἀνα-*, but the remains do not easily match the combination of gamma and iota elsewhere, and, although *σημ-* seems virtually certain, *σημο* will not conform with *σημ(ε)ία*. No word *ἀνασήμ(ε)ιον* is known. The single isolated trace might be a rho, suggesting *σημ(ε)ιο[γ]ρ(αφ-)*, but the remaining traces are still intractable and this stem always relates to shorthand. At the end [.] *του* or possibly [.] *τον* might suit. For the sense cf. P. München I 7.89–91 *ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὲν μὴ εἰδότες, βαλόντος δὲ τῆ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ τοὺς τρεῖς τιμίους σταυρούς*, with the very similar P. Lips. 90.9–10, comparing the triple crosses below in 193 (cf. 210) and 226 (cf. 225), and XVI 1890 22 for *βαλόντος* with reference to writing.

For *σημείον* applied to the marks of illiterate persons, see e.g. CPR XIV 32.29, 30, P. Herm. 34.32, P. München I 7.85 (see ed. 2, p. 20*), P. Lips. 90.8. Although *ἀνά* is well attested with a distributive sense, *ἀνά σημίον* [αὐ]τοῦ does not seem to be a satisfactory equivalent of something like *βαλόντων ἀνά σημίον ἐν ἑκάστου*, ‘putting down one mark each’.

189–193 These lines are in a paler ink and are more densely written. The linguistic mistakes (189, 191), the change from third to first person, and some patchy inconsistencies in the appearance suggest that they are not by the main hand, although the style is very similar.

193 The sign at the beginning of the line is an elaborated paragraphus, which marks the end of the main text.

It is pointed out in P. Herm. 34.32 n. that, although there is no hard and fast rule, three is the most popular number for these crosses appended by illiterates, see P. München I 7.91, quoted above in 188 n., cf. 226 below.

We are told in 210 both that these crosses are in the hand of the provost Joseph himself and that Joseph is illiterate. The writing around the crosses is in a small cramped hand very different from the large flowing one of Pamuthius the amanuensis. In 225 we are told that the crosses at the beginning of 226 are in the hand of Theodorus the steward and that Theodorus himself is illiterate. Again the writing is different from the hand of the amanuensis. What is more difficult to decide is whether the writing round the second set of crosses is the same as that round the first. I am inclined to think that it is not. In the first set the writing seems uncoordinated, while in the second set it is well placed. The second set of crosses on the other hand is traced with rather wavy strokes. Probably the monks had learned to write enough to make these marks, with their names and titles, and probably to write other simple texts, but did not want to embark on elaborate subscriptions such as these.

194–5 The monastery was ‘situated in the Western desert of this city of Oxyrhynchites’, cf. 211–12, XVI 1890 6. There is hardly any doubt that this means that it was to the west of the Bahr Yusuf. Probably it means that it was fairly near the latitude of the city itself and not at any great distance north or south. Otherwise it might more probably have been described by the name of a village, cf. the Hermopolite monastery of Apa Apollon, located *ἐν ὄρει (τῆς) κάμης Τιτκώως*, cf. e.g. SB XVI 12401.3–4. The land that it coveted was in Ophis, a village of the Eastern toparchy, therefore probably nearer to the Nile than to the Bahr Yusuf, and not especially near the monastery, cf. 22 n.

196–7 *νομίμ[ατα] ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα ζυγῶ Ὀξύρυγχων*. Cf. 213–214. ‘By the standard of Oxyrhynchus’ is another variation on what has gone before. If we follow the story we find that the monks received at first only sol. 72 of the sol. 130 which Strategius authorized his agents in Oxyrhynchus to disburse to them and that these sol. 72 were deposited with Serenus the zygostates at interest and redefined in weight terms as one pound of gold (82–106), all this without mention of any weight standard. When Serenus died the monks recovered their deposit, again defined as one pound of gold, and sent a delegation to request the balance of the sol. 130 from Apion, son and successor of Strategius (106–119), the balance now being specified as ‘the other fifty-eight solidi less two hundred and thirty-two carats by the private standard of this city of the Oxyrhynchites’ (117–19). In the several variations and repetitions thereafter ‘fifty-eight solidi’ (127, 128–9, 139, 160, 175–6), and ‘fifty-eight solidi less two hundred and thirty-two carats’ (148–9) seem to be treated as equivalent expressions. Presumably ‘by the standard of Oxyrhynchus’ here indicates that the repayment of the first instalment of seventy-two solidi alias one pound of gold was also made ‘by the private standard of the city of the Oxyrhynchites’, which is what is might be expected, although it was not specified before.

200 *Τρωω*, cf. *Μαω* 217. This field name is unknown. It looks as if the tau represented the Egyptian

feminine article, which could be included or omitted according to taste. No very certain hypothesis can be hazarded about the meaning. The τόπος called *Μαω Τοτσε* at Aphrodito (P. Lond. IV 1422.21; VIII) may contain the same Egyptian word or expression.

207 *ἐρμηνευθέντων*, cf. 222. This may imply that the chief language of the monks was Coptic, in spite of their contacts with Constantinople.

ἀλάχιστος (l. *ἐλάχιστος*). For the interchange of epsilon and alpha see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 278–285. It is especially easy in unaccented syllables and the liquid may also have had some influence, see Gignac 285.

The epithet *ἐλάχιστος* is common with the titles of clergymen, when they speak of themselves. I have found it in the papyri, mostly of the sixth to eighth centuries, frequently with *διάκονος* and *πρεσβύτερος*, rarely with *ἀναγνώστης*, *μονάζων*, *μοναχός*, and *οἰκονόμος*. It is part of the convention of Christian humility common in the Byzantine period, for which see A. Dihle, 'Antike Höflichkeit und christliche Demut', *Stud. Ital.* 26 (1952) 169–190, and is sometimes used by laymen, see an early, i.e. fourth century, instance in P. Neph. 9.5

208 *ἀπέλευσα*, cf. 211, 223, 225. See also 4394 213, 238, 4395 106, 117, with LVIII 3952 53 n.

210 *σταυρί[α] τρία*. For the restoration cf. 225, with P. Mich. XI 607.31, 35. See also 193 n.

211–12 Cf. 194–5 n.

213–214 Cf. 196–7 n.

217 *Μαω*. Cf. 200 n.

225 *σταυρία τρία*. Cf. 193, 210 and nn.

226 For the crosses see 193 n. Samuel the deacon has not been identified from elsewhere. On the holy catholic church of Oxyrhynchus, cf. below 239–240, see LVIII 3961 6 n.

228–9 Pamuthius son of Paphaüs has not been identified from elsewhere. For the father's name cf. P. Heid. IV 330.7 (VI/VII), recording a Menas son of a deceased Paphaüs, and XVIII 2197 111, recording a tenant farmer called Paphaüs. Both of these are too late to be the same as ours: the date of 2197 is near to 567, if Paphuthius *ἐπικείμενος* (1) is the same as the one in XXVII 2480 20 (probably 565/6) and in LV 3805 34, 35 (566).

231–2 Neither the deceased Marcianus, who in life would have had the title *λαμπρότατος*, nor his son of the same status, have been identified elsewhere.

234–5 Flavius Philoxenus appears also in P. Bad. VI 172 (547) as a landowner in Oxyrhynchus and the village of Spania and lessor of a hay barn in Spania, and in PSI I 77 (551) as lessor of an irrigated area in the same village. E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources ... de l'église* 160, misrepresents P. Bad. 172 in describing his father as a clerical landowner and calling him Flavius Ision.

237 Cf. XVI 2002 1–2 *κατέβ[α]λ[ε] ἐπὶ τοῦ? τῆς ἀρί[σ]της μνήμης Φιβ Ματρώνου* (AD 579). Read perhaps *ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆς περιβλέπ[τ]ης μνήμης*, since he is *περιβλεπτος* here. Possibly cf. 2031 13 *δ[ιοι]κ[ή]σεως τοῦ κόμ[ε]τος Φιβ*, but this is assigned to c. 600 and would also be posthumous.

239–40 The deacon Theotimus has not been identified elsewhere. For the holy catholic church of Oxyrhynchus see above 226 n.

244–5 See J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* 81 (9.1.1.–9.1.4) for this notary, citing four items dated 543, 544, 553 and 569. The Greek version here makes it very clear that his title in XVI 1985 32 and LI 3641 26 was not *apo diacon(on)*, as previously read, but *ὑποδιάκονος* or *υποδιακονος* (l. *hyro-*?), as already suggested in Diethart and Worp, loc. cit. In the documents of 553 and 569 he has the full status of deacon.

247–250 Although in a different style not noticeably resembling any of the others, it may well be that these lines were written by one of them, perhaps the first, since there seems to be no strong reason for yet another person to intervene.

247 *πρεσβυτέρου?*. Or *προεστῶτος?* This abbreviation in monogram, the loop of rho above, the tail descending to cut the crossbar of pi, normally represents *πρεσβύτερος*, which was indeed one of the titles of Joseph, see 195, but in this document he acts as provost, *προεστῶς*, of the monastery, and this higher title may have been intended. The same uncertainty arises in 193.

249–250 See 114 n.

4398. LOAN OF WHEAT FOR SEED

12 1B.138/G(a)

12 × 27.5 cm

28 November 553

The nearest parallel to the wording of this contract is I 133 of AD 550, although that is an Apion estate document while this is a contract between another Oxyrhynchite

landowner and his *colonus adscripticius*. This landowner, Flavius Dioscorus, is interesting as being the only advocate of the high court of the praetorian prefects known from the papyri, cf. 4394 21–2 n. The loan is of four artabas of wheat, which means that the extent of the piece of land concerned was only four aruras, but the expression *γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα* (10) indicates that Dioscorus had lands also in other districts and may possibly, of course, have had more holdings in the Oxyrhynchite area.

The foot of the sheet is lost. After the end of the tenant's subscription, probably written by an amanuensis, who would have acknowledged his part in the transaction, there would have been a notarial subscription of the type treated in J. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten*.

A sheet-join running vertically close to the right hand edge shows that the writing on the front runs along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut. The two-line endorsement runs downwards along the fibres of the verso.

Ɱ βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν
δεσπότου Φλ(αοῦ)του Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου καὶ
Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους κζ', τοῖς τὸ ιβ̄ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν
Φλ(αοῦ)του Βασιλίου τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου), Χοῖακ β̄, Ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) β̄,
5 ἐν Ὁξυρ(ύχων) πόλ(ει). +
Φλ(αοῦ)τω Διοσκόρω τῷ ἐλλογιμωτάτῳ χολαστικ(ῶ)
καὶ συνηγόρω φόρου τῆς μεγίστης ἀγορᾶς
τῆς <τῶν> ὑπερλάμπρων καὶ ἐξοχωτάτων ἐπάρχ(ων)
τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων, υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξ(ου)
10 <μνήμης> Μαρκελλίνου, γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα
τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγγ(ιτῶν) πόλει, διὰ σοῦ τοῦ αἰδεσίμ(ου)
Στεφάνου τοῦ αὐτῆς διοικητοῦ, Αὐρήλιος
Βίκτωρ υἱὸς Πέτρου μητρὸς Ἄννιδος
ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Δικηούτος
15 τοῦ Ὁξυρυγγ(ιτου) νομοῦ κτήματος κ[α]ι τῆς ὑμῶν
παιδεύσεως ἐναπόγραφος αὐτῆς
γεωργὸς χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι
παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν παιδεύσεως ἐν χρήσει
ἀπὸ γενήματος τῆς παρουσίας δευτέρας
20 Ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) εἰς σπερμολογίαν τῶν ὑπ' ἐμὲ
γεουχικῶν ἀρουρῶν, καρπῶν τῆς
τρίτης ἐπινεμ(ήσεως), πίτου ἀρτάβας
τέσσαρας τὰς καὶ δοθ(είσας) μοι διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ

αἰδεσίμου) Σεφάνου, γί(νονται) σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) δ⁻, καὶ ταύτας
 25 δμολογῶ παρασχεῖν αὐτῇ καθαρ(ὰς)
 κεκοσκινευμ(ένας) μέτρῳ ᾧ καὶ παρείληφα <καὶ>
 ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώσω αὐτῇ μετὰ καὶ τ[ο]ῦ
 φορικοῦ μου φόρου ἐν τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ δευτέρᾳ
 ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), καρ[πάν] τρίτης, κινδύν(ω) τῶν ἐμοὶ ὑπαρχ(όντων).
 30 κύριον) τὸ γρα[μμ](άτιον) ἀπλ(οῦν) γραφ(έν) καὶ ἐ[π]ερ(ωτηθεὶς)
 ὠμολ(όγησα). (m. 2) Ἀὐρ(ήλιος)
 Βίκτωρ υἱὸς [c] [c. 10 letters] . οὐ . [c. 5
 . . [c. 25 letters] . ως [c. 5

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) + γρ(αμμάτιον) Βίκτορος υἱοῦ Πέτρου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Λικηοῦτος σί(του)
 (ἀρταβῶν) δ λόγῳ [c.
 σπερμολ(όγια) β ἰνδ(ικτίωνος).

1 ευσεβς 2 φλς 3 αυτοκρ/; 1. ὑπατεία 4 φλς; 1. Βασιλείου; λαμπρ/ς, ἰνδ/ 5 οξυρ/πολλ/
 6 φλς, σχολαστικς 8 ὑπερλαμπρων, επαρχς 9 υἱω, ενδοξ/ 11 οξυρηνγς, αιδεσιμς 13 υἱος 15 οξυρηνγς
 18 ὕμων 20 ἰνδ/, ὑπεμς 22 επιμεμς 23 δοθς 24 αιδεσιμς, γι/σι/σδ 25 καθαρ/ 26 κεκοσκινευμς
 28 παῦνι 29 ἰνδ/, κινδυνς, υπαρχ 30 κυρ/, γρα[μμ]ς(?) απλ/γραφ/, επερ/ωμολ/ 33 γρ/, υἱου, εποικ/,
 ci/σ 34 σπερμολδςβινδ/

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master Flavius Justinian, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 27, under the consuls for the 12th time after the consulship of Flavius Basilus, *uir clarissimus*, Choeac 2, indiction 2, in the city of Oxyrhynchus.'

'To Flavius Dioscorus the most eloquent *scholasticus* and *advocatus fori* of the most great court of the resplendent and most eminent prefects of the imperial *praetoria*, son of Marcellinus of glorious memory, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through you the worshipful Stephanus, your steward, from Aurelius Victor son of Peter, mother Annis, coming from the Epocium Licēutos in the Oxyrhynchite nome, a holding of your learned self, your enrolled tenant, greetings.'

'I acknowledge that I have received from your learned self on loan from the produce of the present second indiction for the sowing of the landlord's fields in my charge, for the crops of the third indiction, four artabas of wheat, those actually delivered to me through the same worshipful Stephanus, total wheat art. 4, and these I acknowledge that I will furnish to you, clean, sieved, by the measure by which I received them, (and) of necessity I shall return them to you with my rent of the same quality in the month of Payni of the second indiction, from the crops of the third, at the risk of my possessions. The contract, written in a single copy, is binding and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.' (2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Victor son of ...'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Contract of Victor son of Peter from the Epocium Licēutos for 4 art. wheat on account of ... the sowing of the 2nd indiction.'

1-4 For the conversion of the date to 28 November 553 see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 88, with 97.

6 Flavius Dioscorus *scholasticus* is not recorded in A. Claus, 'Ο Σχολαστικός, or in the addenda mentioned in 4394 19-20 n.

For ἄλλογμύατος see 4394 19-20 n.

7-9 This appears to be the first mention in the papyri of an *advocatus fori* in the high court of the praetorian prefects, cf. 4394 21-2 n. on advocates in the court of the *Augustalis* and in the praesidial courts of Egypt. Claus, op. cit. 77 refers to a certain Zacharias from Gaza who held a comparable post as σχολαστικός καὶ συνήγορος τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς μεγίστης τῶν ὑπάρχων in the twenties of the sixth century. In both cases the court is described as that of the whole college of praetorian prefects, although it is likely that the one concerned was that of the PPO Orientis in Constantinople. On lawyers at these courts see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 508-10, esp. 509 on the PPO Orientis, and 520 on the possibility that such a post could be held as a sinecure; cf. 745 on the admission of *curiales* to the bars of the high courts. On the other hand landholding in the Oxyrhynchite area is not incompatible with residence at Constantinople, cf. e.g. 4397, which shows that Strategius I and Apion II were often in the capital.

7 φόρος (= *forum*, cf. 4394 21-2 n.) and ἀγορά are here synonyms.

8 ὑπερλάμπρων. On this epithet see especially D. Feissel in J. Diethart, D. Feissel, J. Gascou, 'Les protokolla etc.', in *Tyche* 9 (1994) 23-27. It is best attested in the fifth century, but it continues in use as late as the seventh century with reference to the praetorian prefects. To Feissel's examples add this one (553) and 4399 3 (c. 566?).

ἐξοχωτάτων = *eminentissimorum*. This is the characteristic epithet for the praetorian prefects, which began as early as the reign of Marcus Aurelius and was still used of them till at least the beginning of the seventh century, see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 12, P. Koch, *Die byzantinischen Beamtentitel* 85-6. In the late period it was not confined to them, *ibid.* 87-9.

9-10 τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου (μνήμης) Μαρκελλίνου. Perhaps print μ(νήμης) Μ(αρκελλίνου), if the initial letters had an effect on the omission. This person has not been identified from elsewhere. In life he would have had the title ἐνοδοξότατος = *gloriosissimus*, which is very exalted, see Hornickel, op. cit. 8-11, Koch, op. cit. 58-73, but a search in J. Martindale etc., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* vols. ii and iii did not reveal a plausible candidate.

10 καὶ ἐνταῦθα. Note the implication that Flavius Dioscorus had lands in other areas.

11-12 This Stephanus has not been identified from elsewhere. On the function of estate διοικηταὶ cf. E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 80-81, 85-6, A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 789-90.

12 αὐτῆς. This anticipates the honorific abstract τῆς ὑμῶν παιδεύσεως in 15-16 and 18.

12-13 Victor has not been identified from elsewhere.

14 ἐποικίου Λικηοῦτος, cf. 33. The place name is new, i.e. not recorded in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*.

15-16 τῆς ὑμῶν παιδεύσεως, cf. 18. For παιδευσις as a standard term of address for *scholastici* see Claus, op. cit. 87. For the use of the *pluralis maiestatis* in the Byzantine papyri see H. Zilliaceus, *Selbstgefühl und Servilität* 71-6.

16-17 ἐναπόγραφος ... γεωργός. See most lately I. F. Fikhman, *Analecta Papyrologica* 3 (1991) 7-17, with bibliography of earlier literature. In the papyri the term, although it is the equivalent of the Latin legal term *colonus adscripticius*, appears only in texts from the Oxyrhynchite nome, see op. cit. 10.

27-8 μετὰ καὶ τ[ο]ῦ φορικοῦ μου φόρου. This formula appears elsewhere only in the Apion advance of seed, I 133 18. The clause specifies that the loan, interest free, is to be returned at the same time as the agreed rent; the addition of φορικοῦ seems to mean that the wheat is to be the same quality, i.e. cleaned and sieved to the same degree, as the rent. In other contexts the adjective is applied to the grain, σίτου or πυροῦ, or to the measure, cf. J. Keenan, *BASP* 22 (1985) 144-5, n. 37 on the uncertainty of its meaning in the second case. In the first case the word is ambiguous in itself, since the grain may be either for tax, e.g. in the *naulerus*-receipts of P. Erasm. II, or rent, e.g. in P. Mich. XIII 666.24.

31 Victor's father was called Peter, see 13, but the remains are so badly distorted that it is difficult to make out Πέτρου here. Later in the line] . οὐ [recalls ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Λικηοῦτος (14, 33), but this has not been confirmed.

33 λόγῳ. This seems to fit the traces fairly well, although it is prompted by the endorsement of 133 30, which has a different wording: λόγ(ω) σπερμολ(όγια) καρπῶν ιε ἐπιμεμήσεως, σί(του) κ(αγκέλλω) (ἀρταβῶν) c. In our case the note of the amount has appeared first and it is not clear what could have intervened between λόγῳ and σπερμολ(όγια). A possible wording might have been λόγῳ καρπῶν γ ἐπιμεμήσεως, σπερμολ(όγια)

β ἰνδ(ικτώνας), although this does not follow the order of words in 19–22, and has not been confirmed from the remains, which are much damaged.

4399. NOTICE OF DELIVERY OF DEFENDANTS FOR TRIAL

14 1B.209/C(c)

24.5 × 19.5 cm

c. 566?

This communication was probably addressed to a subordinate of the Augustal prefect of Egypt and announces the delivery for trial in his court of persons accused by the sender, a women called Herais, entitled ἡ εὐγενεστάτη. She may well be identical with a person addressed in a document of 566, PSI VI 709, as τῇ εὐγενεστάτῃ Ἡραίδι θυγατρὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Θέωνος. If so, we gain some idea of the date. On the epithet see now K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 109 (1995) 181–186.

The prefect probably had four names besides the status designation Flavius; the first and third, Dorotheus and Ammonius, are preserved in full, the second was of about eight letters and ended in -anus, the fourth, also of about eight letters, is almost entirely lost. He has not been identified from J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* iii, although it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he might be the same as Ammonius 1, op. cit. iiiA pp. 56–7, a large landowner in the region of Aphrodito in the Antaeopolite nome, endowed with titles indicating high rank, known especially from the sixth century archive of Dioscorus. The name Ammonius in itself suggests an Egyptian origin. From the same archive we know a *comes* Dorotheus, op. cit. p. 423 (Dorotheus 7), who was the subject of encomium by Dioscorus, seemingly as the holder of a high office in Egypt. It is not very likely that these references apply to the same man, since the expectation would be that a short reference to a polyonymous official would always be by the same approved single name, see A. D. E. Cameron, *JRS* 75 (1985) 164–182. In this case there is just the possibility that for a verse encomium Dioscorus might have avoided the name Ammonius because of its Egyptian connotation, but these are useless speculations unless new evidence allows a firm connection to be made.

The three accused men were sent up in the care of an ἐκβιβαστής or *executor negotii*, who was appointed by the governor of Arcadia, and whose main task would have been to ensure their appearance in court, see 4 n.

The rapid writing and rough quality of the papyrus suggest that this is a copy kept for reference rather than an original. A rather clumsy sheet-join runs vertically about 15 cm from the left edge, showing that the writing is done along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut. The back is blank.

20–25 letters] . [. . .] . [. . .] . [. . .] . [. . .] Φλ(αουῖου) Δωροθέο[υ
 . . .] ανοῦ Ἀμμωνίου

[. τοῦ ἐνδο]ξ[(οτάτου) κόμ] (ιτος) τῶν καθος(ιωμένων)
 δομ(εστικῶν) καὶ ἐπάρχ(ου) Αὐγουσταλίου
 τὸν τῶρον ἐπέχ(οντος) τῶν ὑπερλάμπρ(ων) καὶ ἐξοχ(ωτάτων)
 ἐπάρχ(ων) ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγ(υπτιακῆς) διοικ(ήσεως)
 κ[α]τὰ θεῖον θέσπισμα, διὰ Φλ(αουῖου) Ἰωάννου ἐκβιβ(αστοῦ) τῆς
 Ἀρκαδῶν ἐπαρχίας.

5 ἐγὼ Ἡραῖς ἡ εὐγενεστάτη παραβάλλω τῇ ὑμῶν ἐντρεχεῖα τοὺς ἐξῆς
 ὑποτεταγμένους αἰτιαθέντας παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐνδοξ(ου)
 μεγαλοπρεπείας

ὡς ὑπευθύνους μοι τυγχάνοντας κατὰ διαφόρους καὶ ποικίλους τρόπους
 καθὼς τὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φοβερῶς ἀποπεφασμένα περιέχει, οὕτως:—

(m. 2) εἰς τὴν δέ. Φοιβάμμωνα υἱὸν Ἀκακίου δι(ὰ) βοηθὸν λογιστηρ(ίου),

10 (m. 3) Ἰωάννης υἱὸς Ἀνουθίου ταπητάρ(ιος), (m. 4) εἰς χρ(υσοῦ)

νο(μισμάτια) ρ (m. 3) πλέον ἔλατον,

(m. 3) Ἀνοῦθις υἱός.

1 φλς 2 ἐνδο]ξ[(cf. 6) κόμ]ς, καθος (l. καθωσιωμένων) δομς, επαρχ 3 επεχς, υπερλαμπρς,
 ἐξοχς/επαρχς, αγς/διοικ / 4 φλς, εκβιβς 5 ηραῖς, ὕμων 6 ἐνδοξς 9 l. Φοιβάμμων
 υἱός; υἱόν, δ; l. βοηθοῦ, βοηθῶν?; λογιστηρ / (oblique cutting the descender of rho) 10 ταπηταρ /, χρ / χρ
 (obliques cutting the descender of rho); l. πλέον ἔλαττον

'(To the staff of the *princeps* of His Highness my lord?) Flavius Dorotheus ... anus Ammonius ..., most glorious count of the devoted domestics and Augustal prefect, lieutenant of the resplendent and most eminent prefects in the diocese of Egypt by imperial decree, through Flavius John *executor* of the province of the Arcadians.'

'I, Herais, of distinguished family, present before your Diligence the persons whose names are set out below and who are charged by me before his(?) glorious Magnificence as being answerable to me in diverse and various ways, as is contained in the fearful judgements pronounced upon them, thus:

(2nd hand) 'They are: Phoebammon son of Acacius, through the assistant(s?) of the treasury office.'

(3rd hand) 'John son of Anuthis, tapestry weaver, (4th hand) up to sol. 100 of gold, (3rd hand) more or less'.

(3rd hand) 'Anuthis his son'.

1 For Flavius Dorotheus as *Augustalis* see introd. We can see that the document was not addressed directly to him from the reference to τῇ ὑμῶν ἐντρεχεῖα in line 5. That title is given usually to local officials of the towns and districts, see P. Köln V 234 introd., p. 282 n. 2, but it occurs also in PSI X 1114 of AD 454, which was a document submitted to the office of the *praeses Arcadiae* in a formula very similar to those of XVI 1880 and 1881 (both 427). These three begin τῇ τάξει τοῦ πρίγκιπος τῆς ἐξουσίας followed by either τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος ἐπαρχίας Ἀρκαδίας, without the name, or by τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου ἄρχοντος τῆς χώρας followed by the name. In PSI 1114.12 τῇ ὑμῶν ἐντρεχεῖα probably refers to the governor's *princeps officii* rather than to the members of the *officium* collectively. The broken context also includes the phrase περὶ ἐκβιβασμοῦ, which recalls the ἐκβιβαστής here in line 4, see n.

Here the titles of the *Augustalis* follow the name, but it is possible that] τ[οῦ] κ[υ]ρ[ι]οῦ: oblique cutting the descender of a putative rho [μου] is to be recognized before Φλ(αουῖου) κτλ. The lacuna is perhaps a little short to supply τῇ τάξει τοῦ πρίγκιπος τῆς ἐξουσίας in full before that, but in view of the extent of abbreviation in this rough copy it could be easy to abbreviate to πριγκς and the first visible trace is a curving descender which could suit the iota of ἐξουσίας.

It should be noted that it was the appropriate *principes officii* who controlled access to each court, see e.g. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 496–7.

P. Bouriant 19.2–5 now look like an address to a *praefectus Augustalis* in terms similar to those of 4399. They are printed as follows:

] . μο(ν) Φλ(αουίω) Ἐρυθρί[ω . τῶ]
 κόμητι τ]ῶν καθωσιωμ(ένων) δομestικῶν
]ωντα ἡμᾶς ἐπέχοντες τῶν τόπων
 5] . αιτοριων ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ διοικήσει

In the light of the foregoing this invites a reconstruction somewhat on the following lines:

τῇ τάξει τοῦ πρίγκιπος τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ κυρίου] μου Φλ(αουίω) Ἐρυθρί[ου
 (more names?) τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου κόμητος τ]ῶν καθωσιωμ(ένων) (l. καθωσιωμένων) δομestικῶν
 (more titles?) καὶ ἐπάρχου Αὐγ]ουσταλίου ἐπέχοντες τῶν τόπων (l. ἐπέχοντος τῶν τόπων)
 τῶν (epithets) ἐπαρχῶν τῶν ἱερῶν π]ραιτοριῶν (l. πραιτωριῶν, cf. XVI
 1974 2–3, P. Mich. XV 738.2, P. Rainer Cent. 92.3–4, SB V 8938.3) ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ διοικήσει.

This wording is by way of example only. The extent of the use of abbreviation cannot be guessed and such deviations as the addition of τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωριῶν, the placing of τῶν τόπων after ἐπέχοντες, and the use of ἐν τῇ ... διοικήσει instead of ἐπὶ τῆς ... διοικήσεως show that the wording differed from that of 4399, but the kernel of the sense seems clear.

This Flavius Erythrius is not recorded as an *Augustalis*, cf. J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* ii 402 (Erythrius 3). It seems from the juxtaposition of Flavius and Erythrius that he cannot be the same as Flavius Constantinus Erythrius Damianus, *magnificentissimus et gloriosissimus comes*, who is named on a building inscription from the Thebaid, although the titles suggest a higher rank than that of *comes limitis Thebaici*, see Martindale, *op. cit.* ii 344, and would suit that of *Augustalis*. By the same argument, and from the editor's dating of P. Bouriant 19 to the fifth or sixth century, he cannot be the same as Flavius Ulpius Erythrius, who rose from *praeses Thebaidos* in 384/5 to be *Augustalis* in 388, see A. H. M. Jones etc., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* i 283–4. There is no special indication that he could be the same as the Erythrius who was a native of Egypt and became praetorian prefect (of the Orient?) on three occasions in the late fifth century, see Martindale, *op. cit.* ii 401–2 (Erythrius 1), but it may be possible. P. Ant. II 110, of the sixth century, refers to the heirs of an Erythrius 'of glorious memory' (τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης) Ἐρυθρίου, who again is a remote possibility; cf. Martindale, *op. cit.* iiiA 451.

2 The first trace looks like the bottom of an arc from a rather large circle, suggesting omicron or theta, but somewhat to the left of the beginnings of the following lines. It might possibly be from some very exaggerated initial letter of line 1, or part of a chrismon or cross at the beginning. However, the ample curve is not very suggestive of a hook on the foot of a vertical.

It is likely that the title of *comes deuotissimorum domesticorum* was honorary, cf. E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* i 220 (ch. 6 338), 536 n. 1; at least it is obvious that the commander of the imperial guard could not be *Augustalis* at the same time.

3 τὸν τόπον ἐπέχοντος. Cf. P. Monac. I 6.69 τοῖς τῶν τόπων ἐπέχουσι τῶν ἀρ[χ]όντων[ν], P. Bouriant 19.4 (see above 1 n.), C. Roueché, *GRBS* 20 (1979) 174, τὸν περιβλεπτον ὑπα(τικόν) κ(αι) ἐπαίχοντα τὸν τόπον τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου βικαρίου (date range: c. 440–536).

ὑπερλάμπρ(ων). Cf. 4398 8 n.

4 κατὰ θεῖον θέσπισμα. Cf. P. Michael. 43.1; also *sacri oraculi* and *sacris oraculis* in G. Just. XI 43.9. ἐκβιβ(αστοῦ) τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχίας. If we follow the short account of the function of the *executor negotii* given by A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 497–8, cf. 587, which is mainly interested in the costs and fees of legal action, it would appear that this *executor* had been appointed by the chief of the staff of the governor of the province of Arcadia, presumably on the orders of the governor, to convey the accused to the court of the *Augustalis*, normally at Alexandria, and see that judgement was passed upon them. See also U. Wilcken, *Archiv* 5 (1909–13) 285–7, 446, on P. Cair. Masp. I 67032, which is a contract between plaintiffs and their *executor*, and P. Laur. IV 159.3 n.

Oxyrhynchus seems to have been the metropolis of Arcadia and the usual, though not the invariable, location of the governor's court, see LIX 3986 introd., 4400 introd.

5 Ἡραῖς ἡ εὐγενεστάτη. See introd. for the tentative identification of her with a woman mentioned in PSI VI 709.4 of 566.

παραβάλλω. Cf. ChLA X 407 (=SB I 5357). 16 Φλ(αουίω) Ἐρυθρίω υἱὸς Ἰακῶβ {φλς} παραβάλλω Κυριανὸν ἀπὸ πριγκ(ιπαλίων) εἰς χρ(υσοῦ) λί(τρας) πέντη (l. πέντε). This is a subscription in which the plaintiff presents the defendant for judgement. For the sum of money see below 10 n.

τῇ ἡμῶν ἐντρεχία. See 1 n.

6 ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐνδόξ(ου) μεγαλοπρεπείας. The plural in αὐτῶν is probably *pluralis maiestatis*, as in τῇ ἡμῶν ἐντρεχία before, and the court referred to is probably the court of the *Augustalis*. Much more remote is the possibility of a reference to a court of the praetorian prefects, whose vicar or lieutenant the *Augustalis* was.

9 δι(ὰ) βοθηθὸν λογισηρίου. It is not clear whether βοθηθὸν is a mistake for βοθηθῶ, or a phonetic spelling of βοθηθῶν. The collocation of βοθηθός and λογισηρίου is commonest in the very late period, see E. Wipszycka, *JJP* 16/17 (1971) 109–130. She argues that there was probably only one βοθηθός per λογισηρίου (p. 114), cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Anagennesis* 1/1 (1981) 97, but P. Ross.-Georg. V 56, an account assigned to the third century, refers specifically to ὀψωνίων βοθηθῶι λογισηρίου [], and in the sixth-century P. Rainer Cent. 126.7, the wording ἕνα ... ἐκ τῶν μικρῶν βοθηθειῶν ἡμῶν τοῦ λογισηρίου seems to imply that there were several people identified as βοθηθῶι, although that is not certain.

10 ταπητάρ(ιω). On this branch of weaving see the short account by E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie Textile* 118–119.

εἰς χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) ρ. A fourth writer inserted the sum of money in a space left blank by the third. This is the declared value of property or damages claimed by the plaintiff, which he had to state in advance and which he was forbidden to exceed, see A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* 730 s.v. *Taxatio*.

What remains unexplained is that such a large sum of money, amounting to 1.38 Roman pounds of gold, is specified for only one of the three accused, and that he is a tapestry weaver. His son (11) is probably included in the same case, so it may be that the first accused is also included, while John is the principal.

10–11 Grandson and grandfather no doubt had the same name, Anuthis. On the declension of names in -ις, -ίου, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25–26.

4400. JUSTINIAN, EDICT XIII, Cap. 24

86/23(a)

27 × 17.5 cm

Sixth century

The two main fragments belong to one leaf of a codex written in a good sloping bookhand comparable with G. Cavallo, H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period AD 300–800* No. 32a, a manuscript of a poem in the hand of the famous Dioscorus of Aphroditos, which can be dated to the period 560–575. A detached scrap has proved hard to place, but should belong to the same leaf.

In essence the text is that of Justinian, Edict XIII Cap. 24, which prescribes the duties of the *dux et Augustalis Thebaidos* in relation to the tax grain to be supplied for despatch to Constantinople and for the *alimonium* of Alexandria. There are many small variants, some helpful, some mere mistakes, but two may be significant. In one place we find *κοι* where the Edict has *αὐτῶ*: in the Edict *κύ* invariably denotes the PPO Orientis, to whom it is addressed. Since this section relates to the Thebaid, *αὐτῶς* usually refers, as it does in this section, to the *dux Thebaidos*, who governed the Upper and Lower Thebaid. A first suspicion might be, therefore, that what we have here is a text addressed to the *dux Thebaidos*, conveying to him directly the same information as is contained in the Thebaid section of Edict XIII. The other arresting variant is τῇ

ἐπαρχ[ι]α τε καὶ [πόλε]ω κ[αὶ] τόποις τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις where the Edict has ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχίαις τε καὶ πόλεσι καὶ τόποις. The singular ἐπαρχία and the deliberation with which τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις, 'under his command', replaces αὐτοῦ look significant, see recto 9–10 n. It might suggest that the text is directed rather to a *praeses* of one of the two Thebaid, who no doubt would have to bear his part of the work and responsibility, cf. Edict XIII Cap. 23, but perhaps we have to remember that our papyrus comes from Oxyrhynchus, whose territory was part of the province of Arcadia and adjoined the northern border of the Thebaid but was never part of it. Could this, then, be a document addressed to a *praeses* of Arcadia, who would have had an exactly parallel duty to supply wheat for Constantinople and Alexandria from his province, and who might best have been instructed in the much the same words as the *dux Thebaidos*? The part of the Edict relating to Arcadia is lost, but being directed to the PPO it would hardly have addressed the *praeses* directly, so that we cannot suppose that this page came from the lost part of a full text of the Edict.

Although these variants are suspicious, it seems very unlikely that the suspicions can ever be confirmed or refuted, so it will be best to treat these fragments as another witness to the text of the Edict, only the second witness, since the edicts of Justinian are otherwise transmitted only in the thirteenth century Codex Marcianus 179 foll. 391^r–410^r.

It is interesting to have this first sample of the Edicts to add to the items which show that Justinian's legislative texts were available in the provinces, cf. R. A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*² Nos. 2279, 2965–71, and we would like to know in whose hands it was and how it was put to use. One speculation might be that it belonged among the many papers of the Apions, whose estate at Oxyrhynchus must have had constant need of the current legislation. 4398, of 553, has just shown that one Oxyrhynchite landowner was a lawyer in the court of the praetorian prefect, though it does not prove his presence in Oxyrhynchus. 4399, perhaps of c. 566, shows a grand lady sending persons she complained of to the court of the *praefectus Augustalis* in the company of an *executor negotii*; in this circle someone must have had an acquaintance with current law. Finally, George of Cyprus, *Descriptio Orbis Romani* (ed. H. Gelzer, Bibl. Teubn.) 745, tells us that Oxyrhynchus was the metropolis of the province of Arcadia: he was writing in the very early seventh century (ibid. p. XIV), but if that had been true since the foundation of the province at the end of the fourth century, see 4385 introd., cf. LIX 3986 introd., the *praeses* and his *officium* must often have been there, eventually putting the legislation of Justinian into effect. It is not surprising, therefore, merely lucky, that a fragment of one of his law-books has survived from Oxyrhynchus.

I am grateful to Peter Sarris of All Souls College for much helpful discussion and orientation in sixth century history and historiography.

In order to give an idea of the format of the page I have set out an approximation of the text lost here between the foot of the recto and the top of the verso, which covers

the portion printed in Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis* iii (ed. R. Schoell, W. (Guilelmus) Kroll) 792.15–20. This page may possibly have had about twenty-three lines with thirty-two to thirty-seven letters each, although there is some uncertainty caused not only by an obvious lacuna in the transmitted text but also by the variants in the text that is preserved from this manuscript. I have also set out an approximation of the lost part of the verso, where of course there is no certainty of its finishing point and where the number of letters to the line, judging from the preserved part, was less, that is, twenty-seven to thirty-three letters. The main purpose of this is to show that there is no place where a small detached scrap will fit exactly into the text of the received version, which is clearly corrupt in that section too.

The codex was broad and generously spaced. The calculated width of the page, including an approximation of the space occupied by the few letters missing at the middle between fragments 1 and 2, is about 27 cm. The column width is c. 20.5 cm, leaving a left margin of c. 3.5 cm, and a right margin of c. 3 cm. There is a top margin of c. 6 cm. The height of the best preserved fragment is c. 17 cm, with eleven lines preserved on the recto, so that each line occupied a vertical distance of c. 1 cm. The missing text on the recto would probably have occupied twelve lines, c. 12 cm, with a lower margin likely to be at least equal to the height of the upper margin, but more probably in this splendid format a little larger; E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* 25, gives as a rule of thumb sufficient for our purpose an average proportion of 3:2 for lower and upper margins. With a lower margin of 6–9 cm the leaf would have been 27 cm wide by 35 to 38 cm tall. The column of writing would have been c. 20.5 cm wide by c. 23 cm tall. All these measurements are approximate because of the losses, and because even in what is preserved the lines are not of uniform width and the letters are not of uniform height or width.

No page numbers survive. If they were present they will have been in the middle of the upper margin or in the upper right edge of the recto and the upper left of the verso. The second would imply that the papyrological recto, where the writing runs along the fibres, was also the codicological recto, that is, a right hand page. The lines have fewer letters on the verso and this too has been noted as a feature of left hand pages, caused by the difficulty of writing into the central gutter of a codex already bound up, see Turner 74, but Turner is sceptical and this example does not seem to show any convincing sign of having been written with difficulty; perhaps the letters are a little more generous on the verso. No sheet-joins from an original roll of papyrus have been preserved, which may imply that it was specially made with unusually wide sheets, see Turner 43–54. No conclusions are possible about the composition of the quire or the codex, although such a page may be supposed suitable for a book of substantial thickness. The text of the two pages here covers the text of *Corpus Iuris Civilis* iii p. 792.11–30. The whole surviving text of Edict XIII, notoriously incomplete, covers pp. 780–795, sixteen pages of varying capacities, and would have needed, at a very rough guess, thirty to thirty-five pages of this codex. The whole surviving text of the

thirteen edicts covers pp. 759–95, thirty-seven pages, perhaps seventy to eighty pages of this codex. The Codex Marcianus Gr. 179 contains the sole surviving text of the Edicts on foll. 39^r–41^r, twenty folios, forty pages. That thirteenth century minuscule manuscript (M) is described in detail by E. Mioni, *Codices Graeci Manuscripti Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum. Thesaurus Antiquus*. i (1981) pp. 280–283. I owe this reference to the kindness and expertise of Nigel Wilson.

Finally, it seems very doubtful whether the discovery of this papyrus can have any bearing on Zachariae von Lingenthal's theory that the Edicts derived from a collection made at Alexandria. This was summarily rejected by Kroll, *CIJ* iii p. VIII n. 2, but favoured by P. Noailles, *Les Collections de Nouvelles* ii (1912) 40–41, cf. 23–4. It arose from a disturbance of the text of M. Zachariae noted it and restored the right order, but tried to explain the disturbance by the very unlikely suggestion that it went back to a papyrus codex written on one side of the page only, *ZRG* 13 (1892) 48. I deduce that he thought that the whole of the text from 791.14 to 794.23 had stood on three conjugate leaves at the middle of a gathering, six folia, written on the rectos only: 1 r. had 791.14–792.1 (section I), 2 r. plus 3 r. had 792.1–793.3 (II), 4 r. (paired with 3 r.) plus 5 r. (paired with 2 r.) had 793.3–794.7 (III), and 6 r. (paired with 1 r.) had 794.7–794.23 (IV). Sections II and III, representing two surfaces, are therefore twice the length of I and IV. The order of the sections in M is II, I, IV, III. This can be reached by rebinding with the outer conjugate leaf wrongly transposed to the middle of the gathering: 2 r. plus 3 r. = II first, then 1 r. = I, then 6 r. = IV, then 4 r. plus 5 r. = III. Obviously there are the glimmerings of a solution here, but a codex with blank versos is a bad start to the hypothesis. Kroll's solution (791.14 n.), if I understand it, supposes that the intended order of the three conjugate leaves was that the outer one, containing I and IV, should have enveloped two single conjugate leaves (*uniones*), one with II and the other with III. The error was to bind them as three *uniones*, II, I–IV, III. This explanation again starts from a hypothesis that the earlier codex was deliberately bizarre.

I suggest that Zachariae's explanation can serve without the necessity to suppose blank versos: we have only to distribute the text of sections I and IV over both sides of folios 1 and 6 of three conjugate leaves at the middle of a gathering, section II over the four sides of folios 2 and 3, and section III over the four sides of folios 4 and 5, and to imagine the conjugate leaf with folios 1 and 6 wrongly transposed to the middle of the gathering.

It is not clear whether Kroll envisages blank versos or not: his explanation could also suit folios written normally on both sides, if his postulated gathering of two *uniones* enclosed by a conjugate leaf could be accepted. He gives figures for the approximate number of letters in the sections: 2600 for II and III, 1260 for I and IV. On my view of the format of M's ancestor this means that 2600 covered four sides, 1260 covered two sides, i.e. 630–650 letters per page. The recto of this papyrus would have had 791 letters in the reconstruction offered. Kroll counted the page of M at c. 2100 letters (791.14 n.). He also stated that the archetype was written in a minuscule hand, see *CIJ*

iii p. IX. My view of the manuscript from which the confusion arose is that it was a majuscule codex with c. 630–650 letters to the page. This does not necessarily mean either that it was of papyrus or that it was from Egypt, but does suggest a relatively early date for it. It need not have been the direct predecessor of M.

Another displacement of the text of M occurs in Nov. 97, see *CIJ* iii 471.14n. There it appears that the order of the two innermost conjugate leaves of a gathering was accidentally reversed, a very similar sort of binding error. Kroll offered no calculation for the number of letters per page. I have calculated that the proper first leaf, 471.14–472.13, that is 36.5 lines of *CIJ* at c. 40 letters per line, would have occupied c. 1460 letters. On the normal expectation of folios written on both sides, each page would have had c. 730 letters, again a number which implies a majuscule codex. The difference in the letter count could occur inside a single codex, but it is in any case likely that there were different sources for the edicts and the Novels, see Zachariae, *ZRG* 13 (1892) 47.

	Fr. 1	Fr. 2	
→	δεδωκ[c. 10 letters]	ξεται δέ σοι [φροντίς τε	33, p. 792.11
	καὶ κίνδ[υνοσ ὡστε πρό]τερον μὲν παγτοίως		34
	εἰσπράτ[τειν τὸν σίτον τῆ]ς αἰσία' ἐμβολῆς		35
	καὶ ἐκπέ[μπειν καὶ παραδι]δόν(αι) τῷ περιβλέ-		33
5	πτω Αὔγου[σταλίω τῆς Ἀλε]ξανδρέων καὶ παρα-		35
	σκευάζειν ἀνελλι[πῶς] καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὠρικμέ-		34
	νας προθεσμίας κ[αὶ αὐτ]ῷ τῷ ἔργω οἰκείω		32
	κινδύνω ἅπαντα τ[ὸν σί]τον τὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα		35
	τῆ ἐπαρχ[ί]α τε καὶ [πόλεσ]ιν κ[αὶ] τόποις τοῖς ὑπο-		37
10	τεταγμέν[ο]ις καὶ ἀ[νήκοντα τῆ] τε ἐμ]βολῆ τῆς		35
	εὐδέμον[οσ ταύτης πόλεωσ καὶ τῷ π]αρ' ἡμῶν		33 792.15
	<u>φιλοτιμουμένω τροφίμω τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων,</u>		34
	<u>οὐδεμιᾶσ ἀναβολῆσ περὶ τούτων γινομένησ,</u>		33
	<u>οἶα καὶ παντὸσ <κινδύνου αὐτὸν (σέ?) ὀρώντοσ> καὶ</u>		35
15	<u>τῆν πειθομένην αὐτῷ (σοί?) τάξιν, κινδυνευόντων</u>		35
	<u>καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖσ τόποισ ὄν-</u>		34
	<u>των καὶ τῶν τριβούνων καὶ πάσης πολιτικῆσ</u>		35
	<u>καὶ δημοσίας βοθησίας, εἰ μὴ πρὸσ ταῦτα</u>		32
	<u>ἀμύνοιεν, δέον τὸ μὲν τῆσ ἐνταῦθα ἐκπεμπο-</u>		34
20	<u>μένησ αἰσίας ἐμβολῆσ μέτρον ἐμβληθῆναι μὲν</u>		37

παρ' αὐτοῦ (παρὰ σοῦ?) ταῖς ποταμίαις ναυσὶν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔρ-	35
γω μέχρι τῆς ἐνάτης τοῦ Αὐγουστοῦ μηνὸς καὶ	36
τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πληναρίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ (παρὰ σοῦ?) πραχθῆναι,	35
	791

1 δεδοκ[c. 10 letters: not in M.; coi: αὐτῷ M. 4 παραδίδου] 6 καί: om. M 7 ἔργω
 <ἐκπέμπεσθαι> Zach. 8 τον: om. M, <τὸν> Zach. 9 τῆ ἐπαρχί[ε]: ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχίαις M.,
 [πόλεσι]: πόλεσι M. ὕπο- (seemingly only one dot for the diaeresis) 9-10 τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις om. M
 11 1. εὐδαίμονος

Fr. 2

Fr. 1

↓ κατακο]μισθῆν[αι δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ]ν κύτον εἰς	32	792.20
τ[ὴν Ἀλ]εξανδρ[έων μέχρι τῆς] δεκάτης	29	
τοῦ {c} Σεπτεμβρί[ου μηνὸς καὶ π]αραδοθῆν(αι)	32	
τῷ περιβλ[έπτω Αὐγουστα]λίω ἦτοι	27	
5 τοῖς παρ' αὐτ[οῦ προβαλλομένοι]ς, τὸ δὲ τοῦ	33	
παρ' ὑμῶν φιλ[οτι]μουμέν[ο]υ' τῆ μεγάλης	28	
τῶν Ἀλεξανδρ[έων] πόλει τροφίμου μέχρι	32	
τῆς πεντεκαίδε[κάτ]ης τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου	30	
μηνός. ἐκεῖνο δὲ [τῷ]ν ἀνωμ[ο]λογημένω(ν)	29	
10 ἐστίν, ὡ[ς εἰ μὴ κατὰ τ]ὰς εἰρημέναις προ-	30	
θεσμί[ας πᾶς ὁ κύτος τ]ῆς αἰσί[α]ς ἐμβολῆ[ς]	32	
τῆς ἐνταῦθα στελλομένης το]ῦ τε τ[ρο-	29	
φίμου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων, ἐκπεμφθείη	30	792.25
κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ ἅπας παρα-	29	
15 δοθῆ τῷ περιβλέπτω Αὐγουσταλίω,	27	
†καὶ οὐ πᾶν αὐτὸς προσστήσειτο παντὸς	31	
κατὰ τριῶν ἀρταβῶν <ὑπέρ> ἐκάστου	27	
νομίσματος τοῦ κύτου τὸ ἐλλείπον	28	
καὶ μὴ παραδοθῆν μέτρον†. ὁ δὲ κίνδυνος	31	
20 οὐτος οὐ μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ (cῆς?) στήσεται	28	
ζωῆς οὐδὲ μέχρι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ	28	
ιδιώτης γενόμενος καὶ τελευτήσας	29	
μακρότερον τῆς αὐτοῦ (cῆς?) τελευτῆς ἔξει(c?)	30	

3 π]αραδοθῆν[η]; παραδίδου M, παραδίδου Zach. 4 ἦτοι: om. M., ἦ add. Scrimger 5 παρ'
 αὐτ[οῦ προβαλλομένοι]ς: παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τοῦτο προβαλλομένοις M.; τὸ δὲ τοῦ: τοῦ δέ M 6 ὑμων: 1. ἡμῶν
 (so M.) 9 δέ: γάρ M. ἀνωμ[ο]λογημένω 11 τ]ῆς αἰσί[α]ς ἐμβολῆ[ς]: τῆς τε αἰσίας ἐμβολῆς τῆς τε
 ἐνταῦθα στελλομένης τοῦ τε τροφίμου M.; {τε} ἐνταῦθα Zach.

Fr. 3

→] . . φ . . [↓] . [
]. [	] . ματ[
	] ετα[
	] . ημ[

'... given(?). It shall be your responsibility and liability first to exact by every means the wheat of the Auspicious Cargo and export and deliver it to the Honourable Augustalis of Alexandria, and furnish at your own liability, without deficit and within the prescribed time limits and in actual fact, all the wheat which is imposed upon the province and cities and localities placed under (you) and which pertains to the Cargo of this fortunate city and to the alimentary benefaction to Alexandria granted by us, without any delay arising in these matters, inasmuch as all <liability bears on him (you?)> and the staff obedient to him (you?), (but) at the liability also of the soldiers stationed in the localities and the commanders and all city and state official assistants, if they should not rally to the defence of these matters, it being obligatory that that measure of the Auspicious Cargo which is exported here be embarked by him (you?) on board the river ships in actual fact on or before the ninth of the month of August and that the full quota be exacted by him (you?), and that the same wheat be conveyed down to Alexandria on or before the tenth of the month of September and delivered to the Honourable Augustalis or to those nominated by him, and the (measure) of the alimentary benefaction granted by us to the great city of Alexandria on or before the fifteenth of the month of October. What follows stands among matters fully acknowledged: that if all the wheat, (both?) of the Auspicious Cargo which is exported here and of the alimentary benefaction to Alexandria, were not to be exported to Alexandria and delivered in full to the Honourable Augustalis within the said time limits, he himself (you yourself?) would produce the measure of wheat deficient and undelivered (in gold?) at the rate of three artabas to every solidus. [Text problems οὐ πᾶν: ... ἂν?, προσστήσειτο: προσστήσει {το}?; παντός: πάντως? An expression for 'in gold', 'in coin'? Read <ἀπαιτηθήσεται> οὐ {π} ἂν αὐτὸς <μὴ> προσστήσειτο (ἀπαιτηθήσεται οὐ ἂν εὐ αὐτὸς μὴ προσστήσει?) παντὸς κατὰ τριῶν ἀρταβῶν <ὑπέρ> ἐκάστου νομίσματος {τοῦ κύτου τὸ ἐλλείπον καὶ μὴ παραδοθῆν μέτρον}. ὁ δὲ κίνδυνος κτλ., '... he (you?) will have demanded from him (you?) in full whatever he himself does (you yourself do?) not produce ...'] This liability shall not stand for the duration of his (your?) life or of his (your?) office, but even if he has (you have?) become a private citizen, and, if he has (you have?) died, long after his (your?) death, he (you?) shall endure the demand for repayment, and both his (your?) heirs and his (your?) property shall be subject to such difficulties, since his (your?) neglect gives against them a liability and responsibility ... which is eternal ...'

Recto

1 Cap 24 begins at ἔσται; δεδοκ[does not appear at this point in the Corpus text, but cap. 23 is unusually short and a lacuna has to be noted in its last sentence: δίδομεν γὰρ καὶ πᾶσαν δικαιοδοσίαν τε καὶ ἐξουσίαν, ἣν ὁ περιβλεπτος αὐγουστάλιος ἔχει ... τοῖ ταῖς ἀνωθεν ἀφωρισμέναις αὐτῷ, τούτῃσι Θεβαίαι δύο. The note states that there is a lacuna of the space of about eight letters in Codex Marcianus Gr. 179 (M), but suggests that τοῖ should be replaced with something like <καὶ τούτῳ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις>. δεδοκ[may or may not be related to δίδομεν; it gives no serious hope of restoring the text of that chapter and may not be related to it at all, if this manuscript is not of the Edict itself.

coi. αὐτῷ M, see introd.

2 παγτοίως. The traces of the feet of pi are very scanty. Those at the end of the line seem to suit -ως

perfectly well, but there is some blotting in a black ink very different from the brown of the main script and this blotting extends into the right margin. There may have been some alteration here, but the black ink is so formless that it may have been offset from some totally different piece.

3 αἰσία'ε'. The sigma added above the line looks more clumsy than the main script and is in a paler brown ink. It is probably in a second hand, cf. verso 6 n.

6 καί. Absent from M. While not strictly necessary it may improve the flow of the rhetoric.

7 Zachariae added ἐκπέμπεσθαι after ἔργω. It is true that otherwise in this edict παρασκευάζειν invariably means 'arrange, contrive' and has a following infinitive, cf. 782.5 (παρασκευάζειν ... ἐκπέμπεσθαι), 782.24 (εἰσκομισθῆναι παρασκευάσειε), 784.4-6 (παρασκευάζειν ... εἰσφέρειν), 785.22-3 (παρασκευάσουσι ... πράξαι), but since this early copy does not have one here, it may be that we should accept the classical construction and translate the verb simply as 'furnish'.

8 This text confirms Zachariae's addition of τὸν before ἐπιβάλλοντα.

9 τῇ ἐπαρχί[τ]α. ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχίαις M. See introd.

9-10 M. does not have τοῖς ὑποταγμένοις, which presumably means 'under his command', cf. 782.17, 786.7, 789.15, and compensates here for the absence of αὐτοῦ in M.'s ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχίαις. In turn this suggests that the text here is not simply a miscopying of M.'s version, but consciously different from it, see introd.

11 π[α]ρ' ἡμῶν. The traces are scanty, but it seems certain that here the phrase was correctly written, i.e. not παρ' ὑμῶν as at verso 6.

12-23 This reconstruction follows the printed text for the repair of the obvious lacuna here in line 14. Apart from that uncertainty there is the doubt whether we should follow recto 1 and consistently restore parts of κύ where the edict has αὐτός referring to the *dux Thebaidos*.

Verso

1 κατακομισθῆν[αι]. Write probably -[(αι), cf. 3.

3 τοῦ {c} Σεπτεμβρί[ου]. Gemination of consonants is one of the most common phonetic errors found in the documentary papyri, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 154-5, 158-160.

π[α]ραδοθῆν(αι). This, being exactly parallel with κατακομισθῆναι, is probably better than παραδίδόναι M. or παραδίδοσθαι Zach.

4 ἦτοι om. M., <ῆ> add. Scrimger. This seems to be an improvement, since its omission just before τοῖς looks like an understandable copying error.

5 παρ' αὐτ[οῦ] προβαλλομένοις; παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τοῦτο προβαλλομένοις M. M. omits εἰς τοῦτο in Cap. 26, 794.5 and places it after προβαλλομένοις in the next sentence (794.7); perhaps the phrase is better kept here.

τὸ δὲ τοῦ: τοῦ δέ M. The text of the papyrus answers τὸ μὲν τῆς ... ἐμβολῆς μέτρον (792.24-25) in a more regular fashion, but M's *lectio difficilior* may, possibly, be preferable.

6 ὑμῶν. ἡμῶν M. rightly. The cause of this misspelling is itacism, see Gignac, *op. cit.* i 234, 264.

φιλ[ο]τι[μ]οῦ μέρ[ο]ς. The damaged upsilon of the addition is in a brown ink paler than the main script. It may be in a second hand, cf. recto 3 n.

9 δέ. γάρ M. M seems to introduce a false logic; δέ is probably better.

11 τῆς αἰς[α]ς ἐμβολῆ[ς]. τῆς τε αἰσίας ἐμβολῆς τῆς τε ἐνταῦθα στελλομένης τοῦ τε τροφίμου M., {τε} ἐνταῦθα Zach. Probably we should follow Zachariae's version, i.e. here we should insert τε before ἐμβολῆ[ς].

12 At the end of the line the word τροφίμου, which can be compared with itself above in 7, must have been split, either as τροφί-¹³μου or more probably, since phi is so large in this script, as τρο-¹³φίμου.

13-23 This reconstruction is vitiated by the corruption of the text that is obvious in line 16 at least and also by the suspicion that we should restore forms of κύ (or κόε) where it has αὐτός. What it does show is the difficulty of placing the detached scrap on this page, see below.

Fr. 3

This detached scrap was stored in the same folder as the two almost joining fragments which give us the top of the leaf. It seems clear that it is in the same hand and should physically belong not far away, but it does not belong to the lines which survive. At first sight it seems not to belong to the lost foot of the leaf either. It might come from somewhere else in the codex, perhaps from the other half of the conjugate leaf, which may of course have contained an adjacent portion of the text, but may equally well have come from some distance away, depending on the composition of the quire. I have not searched the text with sufficient

care to make sure that it does not. I am inclined to suspect that it does come from the lower half of the leaf and records a version of text different from that of M, see notes.

Fr. 3 recto

1 The surface is much abraded and stripped, but the remains of a very large phi seem discernible. The preceding trace is a horizontal at what seems to be a low level; it might possibly represent kappa or delta with an intervening small letter lost, but perhaps the level is deceptive and epsilon is best. The other traces are not distinctive. These combinations of letters too have not been located, though they would be expected to have occurred on the same recto page as the main fragments.

Fr. 3 verso

These letters do not occur in the correct relationship in the lost part of the verso page. I suspect that this may be because of the obvious corruption of the text there. Line 2 looks like νομί]σματ[ος (792.27), line 3 like κτή]εται[(792.28). These have encouraged me to suspect that line 4 had γεγε]νημ[ένος instead of γενόμενος (792.28), but these could not be brought into line with one another without wholesale rearrangement of the text, going far beyond the plausible.

4400. ADDENDUM

65 6B.40/G(3-4)f

5 × 4.75 cm

Sixth century

When this volume was already in page proof Revel Coles recognized another small fragment from the same codex leaf in a different box and with an inventory number of which the element 6B enables us to say that the papyrus was excavated during the sixth season of the work of Grenfell and Hunt at Behnesa, otherwise Oxyrhynchus, see Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Report 16 (1906-7) 8-11. The main group of fragments came out of box 86 and were in a folder marked 'Feb. 8', presumably of 1907. A further search of related boxes discovered no further fragments.

Unfortunately the new scrap, now fr. 4, does not preserve any other passage where we might have seen whether κύ and cognates were used again where the medieval text has αὐτός. The most important thing that it shows is that the reconstructions of the two pages offered above are wrong in different degrees; therefore an attempt has been made to take account of the new evidence in the version given below. Above all it is clear that the insertion put forward by Zachariae and Scholl to make sense of the corruption of the manuscript, incorporated above at recto line 15, does not fit the line divisions of the papyrus, but it is suggestive that according to the new reconstruction the verso page would now appear to have had twenty-four lines while the recto, without any insertion, had twenty-three. One way of explaining this is the tentative hypothesis that the corruption of the recto crux was indeed an omission, but one with a wording slightly longer than the suggestion of Zachariae, equivalent to roughly one recto line of the papyrus.

Secondly the verso of the new fr. 4 shows that my comment on fr. 3 verso cannot be correct in suggesting that νομί]ματος, κτή]εται, and γεγε]νημένος (replacing γενόμενος) could somehow have been brought within range of one another.

The new scrap also gives one variant in the last line of the verso, *μακρότερον τῆς αὐτοῦ (cῆς?) ζωῆς*, rather than *τελευτῆς*.

→	<i>φιλοτιμουμένω τροφίμω τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων,</i>	34
	<i>οὐδεμιᾶς ἀναβολῆς περὶ τούτων γινομένης,</i>	33
	<i>† οἷα καὶ παντὸς καὶ τὴν πειθομένην αὐτῶ (coi?)</i>	32
15	<i>ταξίν†, κινδυνεύόντων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν</i>	37
	<i>ἐπὶ τοῖς τόποις ὄντων καὶ τῶν τριβούνων καὶ</i>	36
fr. 4		
	<i>πάσης πολ]ιτικῆς καὶ [δημοσίας βοηθείας,</i>	33
	<i>εἰ μὴ πρὸς τα]ῦτα ἀμύν[οιεν, δέον τὸ μὲν</i>	30
	<i>τῆς ἐνταῦθα] ἐκπεμπ[ομένης αἰσίας ἐμβολῆς</i>	34
20	<i>μέτρον ἐμβ]ληθῆναι [μὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ (παρὰ σοῦ?) ταῖς</i>	31
	<i>ποταμίαις ναυσὶν αὐτῶ τῶ ἔργῳ μέχρι</i>	30
	<i>τῆς ἐνάτης τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνὸς καὶ τὴν</i>	32
	<i>ἐπ' αὐτῶ πληναρίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ (παρὰ σοῦ?) πραχθῆναι</i>	32
↓	<i>φίμου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων, ἐκπεμφθείη</i>	30
15	<i>κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ ἅπας παρα-</i>	29
	<i>δοθῆ τῶ περιβλέπτω Αὐγουσταλίω,</i>	27
	<i>† καὶ οὐ πᾶν αὐτὸς προσστήσειτο παντὸς</i>	31
	<i>κατὰ τριῶν ἀρταβῶν <ὑπὲρ> ἐκάστου</i>	27
	<i>νομίσματος τοῦ σίτου τὸ ἐλλείπον</i>	28
fr. 4		
20	<i>καὶ μὴ πα]ραδ[οθε]ν μ[έτρον]†. ὁ δὲ κίνδυνος</i>	31
	<i>οὗτος οὐ] μέχρι τῆ[ς αὐτοῦ (cῆς?) στήσεται ζωῆς</i>	32
	<i>οὐδε μέχ]ρι τῆς ἀρχ[ῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ιδιώτης</i>	31
	<i>γενόμενος] καὶ τελ[ευτήσας μακρότερον</i>	32
	<i>τῆς αὐτοῦ (cῆς?)] ζωῆς ἐ[ξεί(c?) τὴν ἀπαίτησιν.</i>	28

INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or *Suppl.* The article is not indexed.

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DIOCLETIAN

Διοκλητιανός **4352**⁵ ii 20

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN AUGUSTI, CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS CAESARS

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανός καὶ Μαξιμιανός Σεβαστοὶ
 καὶ Κωνσταντίος καὶ Μαξιμιανός οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι
 Καίσαρες (year 20 and 12) **4353** 26–28

GALERIUS AND SEVERUS AUGUSTI, MAXIMINUS AND CONSTANTINE CAESARS

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανός καὶ Σευήρος Σεβαστοὶ καὶ
 Μαξιμίνος καὶ Κωνσταντίνος οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι
 Καίσαρες (year 15, 3, 1 or 16, 4, 2) **4354** 15–17

CONSTANTINE, LICINIUS, AND CAESARS

(year 12, 10 and 2: no titulature) **4357** 1
 οἱ δεσπότες ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς τε καὶ Καίσαρες **4357** 6

CONSTANTINE

... δεσπότης ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνος Σεβαστός ... **4367** 5

ANASTASIOS

ὁ καλλίνικος καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ἡμῶν δεσπότης
Ἀναστάσιος ὁ αἰώνιος Ἀβγούστος **4394** 177–180

JUSTINIAN

Ὁ θειότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης Φλαουῖος
Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ αἰώνιος Ἀβγούστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ
4396 1–3 (year 14) [**4397** 1] (year 18) **4398**
1–3 (year 27)

Ὁ καλλίνικος ἡμῶν δεσπότης **4397** 167–8

III. CONSULS

AD 304 ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων
Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ θ' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ η' Σεβαστῶν
4353 1–3

AD 307 ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος
Σευήρου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου
Καίσαρος **4354** 1–3

ὑπατείας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανε-
στάτου Καίσαρος **4355** 6–7

AD 324 τοῖς τὸ τέταρτον ἐσομένοις ὑπάτοις **4359** 1–2

AD 345 *Fl(auius) Amantio et Albino u(iris) c(larissimis)*
co(n)s(ulibus) **4369** 11

AD 354 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου
Ἀβγούστου τὸ ζ' καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου
Καίσαρος τὸ γ' **4370** 1–3

AD 368 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουῖων Λουπικίνου καὶ
Ἰουόνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων **4376** 1–2

AD 369 ὑπατείας Οὐαλεντιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου
υἱοῦ τοῦ θειοτάτου δεσπότη ἡμῶν Οὐάλεντος
Ἀβγούστου καὶ Φλαουῖου Βίκτορος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου
στρατηλάτου **4377** 1–3

ὑπατείας Οὐαλεντιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου υἱοῦ τοῦ
δεσπότη ἡμῶν Οὐάλεντος Ἀβγούστου καὶ
Οὐίκτωρος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου στρατηλάτου **4378** 1–3

ὑπατείας Οὐαλεντιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου υἱοῦ τοῦ
δεσπότη ἡμῶν Οὐάλεντος καὶ Φλαουῖου Οὐίκτωρος
τοῦ λαμπροτάτου στρατηλάτου **4379** 1–3

ὑπατείας Οὐαλεντιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου υἱοῦ τοῦ
δεσπότη ἡμῶν Οὐάλεντος αἰωνίου Ἀβγούστου καὶ
Φλαουῖου Οὐίκτωρος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **4380** 1–3

AD 375 *post consulatum domini nostri Gratiani perpetui*
Augusti iii et Equitii uiri clarissimi comitis **4381** 1

AD 383 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουῖων Ἀντωνίου καὶ
Συαγρίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων **4382** 1

AD 384 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουῖων Μεροβαύδου τὸ
β' καὶ Κατορνίλου τῶν λαμπροτάτων **4383** 1–2

AD 385 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουῖων Ῥιχομήρου καὶ
Κλεάρχου τῶν λαμπροτάτων **4384** 1–2

AD 386 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν
Ἀρκαδίου αἰωνίου Ἀβγούστου τὸ α' καὶ Φλαουῖου
Βαύτονος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **4385** 2

AD 393 ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου τοῦ
αἰωνίου Ἀβγούστου τὸ γ' καὶ Φλαουῖου Ἀβουδαντίου
τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **4386** 8–9

AD 423 τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
'Ονωρίου τὸ ιγ' καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ ι' τῶν αἰωνίων
Ἀβγούστων **4388** 1–2

AD 469 ὑπατεία Φλαουῖων Ζήνωνος καὶ Μαρκιανοῦ
τῶν λαμπροτάτων **4390** 1

AD 479 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουῖου Ἰλλου τοῦ
λαμπροτάτου **4392** 2

AD 492 ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτοκράτορος
Φλαουῖων Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀβγούστου τὸ
πρώτον καὶ Ῥούφου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **4394** 35–9

AD 494 τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουῖου Ἐνσεβίου τοῦ
λαμπροτάτου τὸ β' **4394** 7–8

AD 499 ὑπατεία Φλαουῖου Ἰωάννου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου
4395 156

AD 500 ὑπατεία Φλαουῖου Ἰωάννου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου
4394 256 **4395** 130

AD 542 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουῖου Βασιλείου τοῦ
λαμπροτάτου **4396** 3

AD 545 τοῖς τὸ γ' (sic) μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουῖου
Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **4397** 1–2

AD 553 τοῖς τὸ ιβ' μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουῖου
Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **4398** 3–4

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1st indiction **4394** 34 (=AD 492/3) 8th indiction **4372** 1 (=AD 349/50–394/5?) **4390**
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28–9, 34 (=AD 553/4) **4395** 130 (=AD 499/500) **4397** 3
3rd indiction **4394** 10, 52, 76, 112, 207, 230 (= 9th indiction **4372** 22, 49 (=AD 350/1–395/6?)
AD 494/5) **4398** 22, 29 (=AD 554/5) **4390** 7 (=AD 470/71) **4391** 2, 4 (=AD 470/71)
5th indiction **4396** 3 (=AD 541/2) 13th indiction [**4379** 9] (=AD 369/370)
6th indiction **4372** 7, 10, 14, 34, 57, 59 (= 14th indiction **4383** 9 (=AD 385/6)
AD 347/8–392/3?) **4388** 13 (=AD 422/3) 15th indiction **4394** 4 (=AD 491/2)
7th indiction **4372** 11, 35, 60 (= AD 348/9–393/4?) **4373** 3 (=AD 363/4) **4395**
156 (=AD 498/9)

(b) ERAS

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41/10=AD 364/5 **4375** 5 146/115=AD 469/70 **4390** 7
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78/47=AD 401/2 **4387**

V. MONTHS AND DAYS

(a) MONTHS

Ἀθύρ **4355** 7 **4357** 3 **4370** 3 **4380** 3 **4384** Ὀκτώβριος **4400** v. 8
2 **4387** 6 Παῦνι **4394** 51 **4398** 28
Augustus **4381** 1 Παχών **4378** 3 **4385** 3
Ἐπειφ **4373** 4, 5 **4382** 1 **4394** 9, 75, 111, 205, 230 Σεπτέμβριος [**4359** 1] [**4367** 8] **4400** v. 3
September (**4371** 1)
Θῶθ **4371** 1 **4379** 3 Τῶβι **4388** 13 **4391** 4 **4392** 3
Φαμενώθ [**4354** 13?] **4376** 2 **4389** 4 **4397** 3
Φαρμούθι [**4354** 13?] [**4355** 13?] **4363** 3
4375 5 **4377** 4
Φαῶφι [**4354** 13?] **4357** 1 **4383** 3
Χοιάκ **4357** 3 **4390** 1 **4398** 4

(b) DAYS

ιδις [**4371** 1] nonae **4381** 1
Καλάνδαι [**4359** 1] **4363** 2 **4367** (8), [(8)]

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 20 November 307 **4355** 6–7
 16 August 324 **4359** 1–2
 26 June 364 **4373** 5
 5–14 April 365 **4375** 5
 25 March 368 **4376** 1–2
 27 March–25 April 369 **4377** 1–4
 13 May 369 **4378** 1–3
 4 September 369 **4379** 1–3
 28 October–26 November 369 **4380** 1–3
 3 August 375 **4381** 1
 23 July 383 **4382** 1
 24 October 384 **4383** 1–3
 26 November 385 **4384** 1–2
 22 May 386 **4385** 2–3
 6 November 401 **4387** 6
 28 January 423 **4388** 1–2
 9 March 439 **4389** 4
 14 December 469 **4390** 1
 15 January 471 **4391** 4
 14 January 479 **4392** 2–3
 22 August 492 **4394** 3–9
 24 June 494 **4394** 50–52
 25 June 494 **4394** 110–112, 206–7, 229–230
 13 July 494 **4394** 7–10, 74–6
 27 July 499 **4395** 156
 15 February 500 **4394** 256
 24 February 500 **4395** 130–1
 18 February 542 **4396** 1–3
 17 March 545 **4397** 1–3
 28 November 553 **4398** 1–4

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 Άγαθος *see* Αύρηλιος Άγαθος
 Άγαθός Δαίμων *see* Αύρηλιος Άγαθός Δαίμων
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 Ακάκιος f. of Phoebammon **4399** 9
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VII. PERSONAL NAMES

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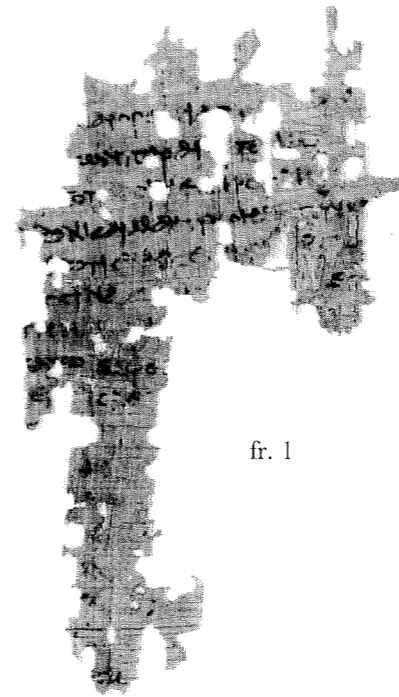
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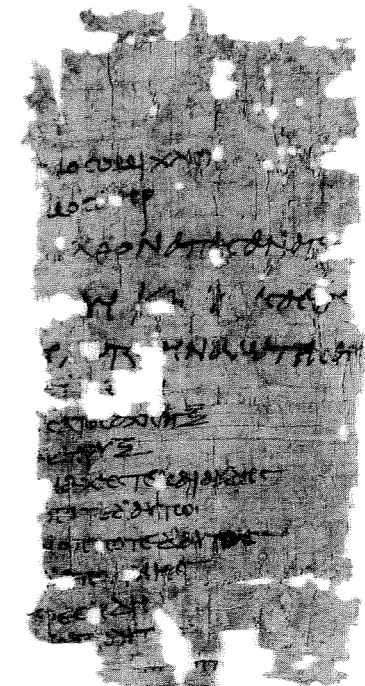
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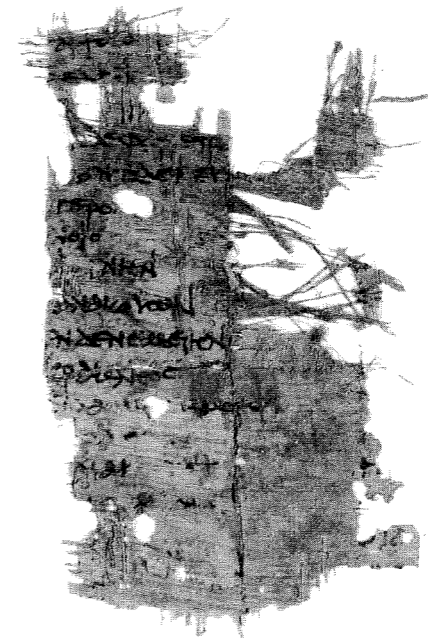
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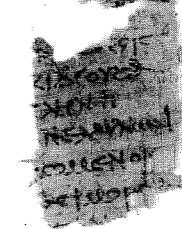
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